



Why the GOP Must Move Right

By M. STANTON EVANS

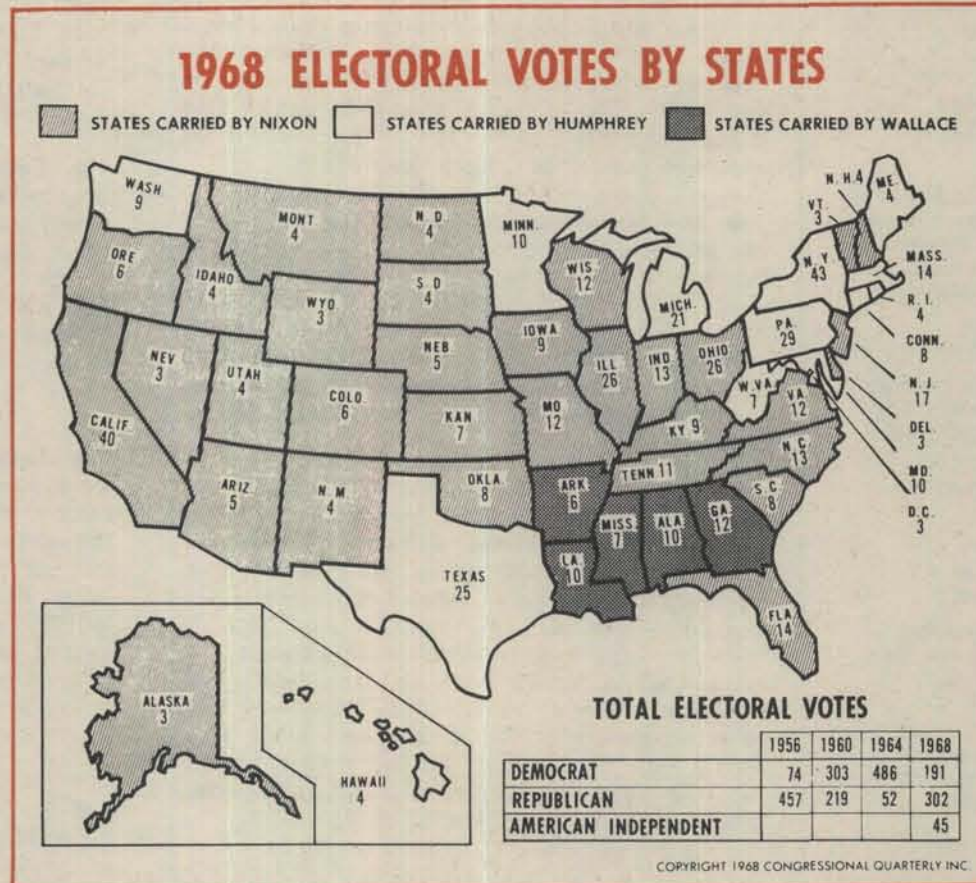
Every presidential election is an important event, but this year's balloting may prove more important than most. Depending on the performance of the new Republican President and the Republican leadership generally, Richard Nixon's victory could be a major turning point for the GOP and for the nation.

This is true not simply because Nixon won the election, but because of how he won. The method by which his victory was attained suggests today's Republican party is capable of aligning itself with a new and stable majority in the years ahead, precisely as the Democrats did in the 1930s. Whether it will do so or not is up to the new Administration.

Part of the story emerges from a reading of the popular vote. Nixon received upwards of 31 million votes, while third-party candidate George C. Wallace received something like 10 million. This is 41 million votes in protest of the current drift of national policy. If the Republican party can reverse the momentum of that policy and become the accepted political vehicle for these anti-liberal voters, it will be an authentic majority party for the first time in a generation.

Majority support in the popular vote is, however, only part of the problem. Even more important is the task of securing a majority in the electoral college—which the GOP has now achieved—and a majority in Congress—which it has not. The political indications in both of these categories, as in the popular vote, strongly suggest the need for continued movement to the right.

In the presidential vote, Nixon finally solved the problem that has baffled the GOP since the New Deal rearranged the contours of our politics: He succeeded in putting together a conservative



majority in the electoral college. Abandoning the notion that New York and the liberal East were vital to Republican victory, he stitched together an alliance of Midwestern, Western and Southern states yielding more than the necessary 270 votes. Despite the complicating presence of Wallace, he adopted a "Southern strategy" and made it work.

To grasp the meaning of this new alliance, we need only examine a map of the United States as it divided up between Humphrey and Nixon.

The Democratic candidate carried eight states in the upper northeastern quadrant of the country—Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut,

New York, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Maryland—plus the District of Columbia. He won only five other states in the rest of the country—Michigan, Minnesota, Texas, Hawaii and Washington. And one of these, Texas, he carried only because the Wallace showing prevented a Nixon victory.

That makes a total of 13 states, plus the District, carried by the Democratic standard-bearer. Everything else in the nation went either to Nixon or to Wallace. The Republican win was so widespread that it would be possible to travel from one coast of the United States to the other without leaving territory carried by Nixon. One could set out from Charleston, S.C., and

travel northwest to Chicago, then due West across the plains and Rockies to San Francisco, and be in Republican territory every foot of the way.

With this election, in sum, the liberal cause in presidential politics has been driven into an enclave along the Eastern seaboard, maintaining a few isolated outposts in the hinterlands.

The liberalism that prevails in New York and Boston is hopelessly out of touch with what is happening elsewhere in the nation from Florida to Illinois to California. This is the meaning of the new alignment in our politics—and a powerful alignment it is.

In essence, the Nixon electoral win was a repeat of the formula which gave him the nomination in Miami Beach—and which had nominated Barry Goldwater four years earlier. The states that elected Nixon were, in case after case, the states that nominated him. The states carried by Humphrey were, with few exceptions, the states that lined up in behalf of Nelson Rockefeller. Clearly, the Midwestern-Southern-Western coalition that first peeked through to daylight with the Goldwater win is now at the threshold of authentic national power.

Nixon's electoral victory resembles his nomination win in another respect as well. He managed his triumph even though the anti-liberal forces were divided. In the August convention some 182 delegate votes went to Ronald Reagan—and conservative strength was still sufficient to give the nomination to Nixon. In the November balloting, some 9.7 million popular votes and 45 electoral votes went to Wallace—and conservative strength was still sufficient to give the election to Nixon.

The Wallace challenge fragmented the anti-liberal protest, split

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● Richard Nixon will now definitely have a chance to give a conservative hue to the Supreme Court in his first year in office. Since Earl Warren has reaffirmed his decision to retire next year, Nixon will be in a position to select not only a chief justice but a replacement for Warren on the High Court. If Warren is replaced with a conservative, many of the court's previous 5-to-4 decisions may very well be reversed.

● Richard Nixon's associates are reported to be extremely irritated with the recent antics of Henry Cabot Lodge, who's been making it apparent that he wants a job with the new Administration. When Lodge flew down to Florida recently to see Nixon, he told reporters that the President-elect had summoned him for advice and possible diplomatic duties. Nixon intimates, however, emphatically stress that Lodge had invited himself.

● Sen. Mark Hatfield (R.-Ore.) is in hot water with his constituents over the role he played in the senatorial contest between Sen. Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.) and Republican challenger Robert Packwood. On the day of the election, Hatfield sent a telegram to Morse praising him for his views on Viet Nam. The telegram wasn't enough to save Morse—who lost by a hair to Packwood—but it has angered a number of Oregon Republicans.

● Conservative politicians in the Nation's Capital are urging Goldwater-oriented Republicans in the House to at long last form a "Conservative Caucus" to bring rightward pressure on the GOP. The liberal Republicans, it is pointed out, have their own group—the Wednesday Club—so why shouldn't the conservatives have theirs? Best bet to lead such an organization: Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio).

● Some liberal Republicans in the House are talking about attempting a "purge" of the staff of the GOP Congressional Campaign Committee, which dispenses funds, advice and hard-hitting information to Republican House candidates. The disgruntled liberals, long agitated over the committee's solidly conservative stand, are considering an accusation that it was the committee's conservatism which prevented the GOP from picking up more than four House seats in the '68 elections. Rep. Bob Wilson, the California conservative who heads the committee, can be expected to fight back on any purge attempt.

● Republicans, who picked up five Senate seats earlier this month, expect to do even better in the 1970 balloting. Twenty-five Democrats and only eight Republicans will be up for re-election, giving the GOP a golden opportunity to slash the 58-to-42 Democratic majority. Among the particularly vulnerable Democrats, in the eyes of GOP strategists: Thomas Dodd (Conn.), Vance Hartke (Ind.), Howard Cannon (Nev.), Stephen M. Young (Ohio), Albert Gore (Tenn.) and Ralph Yarborough (Tex.). Additionally, Sen. Spessard Holland (D.-Fla.) is thought likely to retire and the GOP has great hopes of picking up his seat.

● Progress in Fun City: One hundred thousand children will be added to the New York welfare rolls this year. This compares to 40,000 in 1965, the year before John Lindsay took over as mayor of the nation's largest city.

Capital Briefs

● Interesting fact brought to light by National Review's James Burnham: Marxist revolutionary Herbert Marcuse, in acknowledging those who helped him with his 1964 "One-Dimensional Man," says: "The American Council of Learned Studies, the Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Social Science Research Council have extended to me grants which greatly facilitated the completion of these studies."

● Further demonstration of organized labor's political effectiveness came in the 1968 congressional races. The AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education gave its major support to 50 incumbent liberal Democratic representatives who had won in 1966 with less than 55 per cent of the vote (so-called marginal districts); only six of these candidates lost.

● Columnist Ralph de Toledano says he intends to submit the record of the New York Times' below-the-belt attack on Gov. Spiro T. Agnew to the ethics committee of the Sigma Delta Chi journalistic society. According to de Toledano, the Times raised all sorts of innuendo about Agnew's finances in 1968 even though it had a "full file of the allegations as well as the facts" about the matter when it wholeheartedly endorsed him for governor in 1966.

● A Chicago gang leader, Jeff Fort, under indictment for contempt of Congress in refusing to answer questions concerning expenditure of federal poverty funds, has been hired as a \$9,000-per-year "youth coordinator" for a \$3-million South Side Community program sponsored by a private foundation. The program's "stated purpose," says Chicago police Capt. Edward Buckney, an expert on the city's gangs, "is uplift of the community, but it appears it is hiring known gangsters as organizers at substantial salaries for doing nothing."

● Remember how Democratic leaders ridiculed the idea of "song-and-dance man" George Murphy running for the Senate? Now these same poobahs are considering video actor Gene Barry as Murphy's opponent in the 1970 elections. Barry is campaigning actively for the nod. Also interested in the Democratic nomination is Rep. John Tunney, a celebrity in his own right (as son of former heavyweight champ Gene Tunney).

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Murphy Appointment Hailed

Veteran anti-Communists in the Nation's Capital are extremely pleased with President-elect Richard Nixon's decision to have Robert D. Murphy as his personal foreign policy representative in Washington between now and Nixon's inauguration on January 20.



MURPHY

The hawkish diplomat, now retired, will have an office adjacent to that of Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and his responsibilities will include: (a) keeping Nixon informed on current developments in foreign policy; (b) advising Nixon during the transition period regarding personnel assignments; (c) helping the President-elect formulate new policy; and (d) setting up a method for prior consultation and agreement regarding any major decisions in foreign policy.

In appointing Murphy, Nixon also made it crystal clear that he will not carry out any policy of LBJ's unless he has approved it prior to its implementation.

This Murphy appointment has particularly pleased certain hard-liners in the State Department and in anti-Communist circles. The retired Murphy, who served under FDR and Truman, rounded out his career as under secretary of state in the Eisenhower Administration. A diplomatic troubleshooter, he has been ambassador to Japan and Belgium, has helped out on the Korean negotiations, and remained in Germany for a time as the top civilian adviser to the U.S. occupation commander.

Aside from a wealth of diplomatic experience, Murphy is also known for his hard-line, anti-Communist views. In his 1964 book, *Diplomat Among Warriors*, Murphy made it plain he supported such tough Asian patriots as Korea's Syngman Rhee and Formosa's Chiang Kai-shek against the appeasement cabal in the State Department. He also hit out sharply at the "adherents of the Grand Design of U.S.-Soviet cooperation," who, he feels, forced us to retreat from Gen. Douglas MacArthur's formula for victory in Korea.

Murphy also blames the accommodation apparatus for backing down in the Berlin blockade in 1948. Instead of creating the Berlin airlift to circumvent the Soviets, Murphy advised that we enforce our rights by sending "a small combat force" through the ground blockade. When his advice was ignored, he came close to resigning. And it is Murphy's conviction today that if his proposal had been carried out, the Soviets would never have dared to initiate the Korean War.

This top diplomat also reserves some of his more devastating criticism for that liberal Sacred Cow, the United Nations. In his writings he blames Henry Cabot Lodge for the gradual transformation of the American delegation at the United Nations into almost a "second foreign office" and he deflates the "U.N. Firsters" with this thrust: "Personally, I never regarded the U.N. as a divine machine from which happy solutions to our problems would miraculously flow. Nor have I feared the consequences even if the U.N. should collapse utterly."

Thus the feeling in Washington is that Nixon can't go too far wrong with Murphy as one of his top foreign policy advisers.

Liberal Noses in Nixon Tent

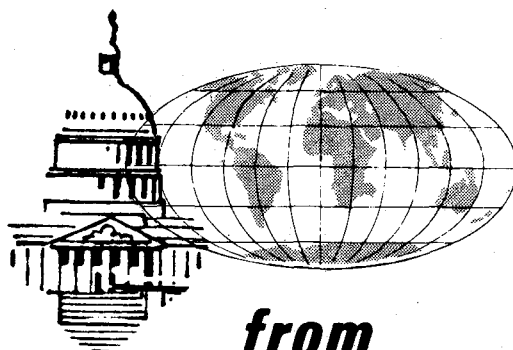
While Nixon is being applauded for his selection of Murphy and is surrounded by other hard-line advisers like Richard V. Allen of the Hoover Institute, there are those who feel the President-elect would do well to keep a wary eye on some of his more liberal advisers.

Insiders in the Nixon camp, for instance, are particularly worried about Leonard Garment and Glenn Olds. A political liberal and a member of Nixon's law firm, Garment has been reported

as shopping in liberal Democratic circles for both Nixon policies and appointments. There is growing fear that he may have an important influence over certain Cabinet selections.

Another troublesome figure in the eyes of conservatives is Dr. Glenn Olds, a past president of Springfield College in Massachusetts and formerly executive

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



from Inside Washington

dean of International Studies and World Affairs at New York's State University. Now Nixon's special assistant for Policy and Manpower Development, Olds has been feeding the names of possible Nixon appointees into computers for about six months.

A one-time consultant to the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Olds helped to bring liberal-oriented social scientists and philosophers into the agency. A Nixon intimate says that Olds at one time actually recommended that the President-elect should fill out his Cabinet with two Johnson rejects: former Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara and superdove Arthur Goldberg.

During the time he has been making name recommendations for a Nixon Administration, Olds has also been in frequent contact with Harvard Prof. Adam Yarmolinsky, an extreme liberal who played a major role in creating the "War on Poverty" and who served under Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara in the Pentagon. There are some reports that Olds has been "neutralized," as of late, but how well this has worked is little known.

There are other Nixon aides and associates who do not go down too well with conservative supporters of the President-elect—including speechwriter Ray Price and political operator Robert Ellsworth. If the Nixon Administration starts to veer leftward on some occasions, it is said, these are some of the individuals who will be tilting it in that direction.

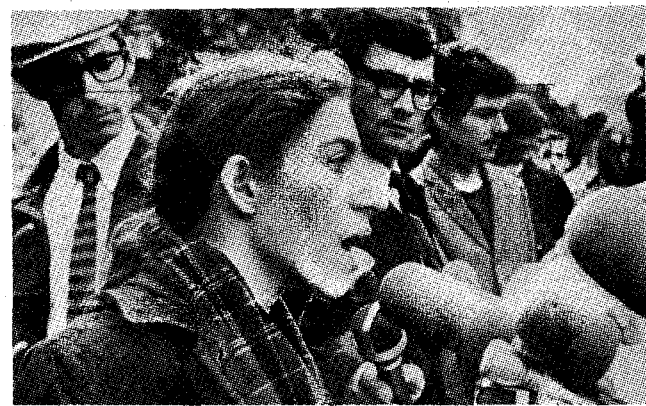
Odd Choice for Riot Panel

A key staffer of the blue ribbon White House Commission on Violence is a Berkeley professor who was affiliated last year with a radical "peace group" that congressional probers found was honeycombed with Communists.

He is Jerome H. Skolnick, co-director of the Commission's Task Force on Violent Aspects of Demonstrations and Protests. In April 1967 Skolnick joined with other Bay Area radicals in organizing a massive protest against the Viet Nam war. He publicly identified himself as a member of the Professional Committee of the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Viet Nam (SMC).

The House Committee on Un-American Activities conducted an extensive probe of the SMC, concluding that Communists played the "dominant role" in its operations. "Communist activity in support of the SMC is blatant," according to the committee.

Joining with Skolnick to sponsor the committee were such well-known Communists as Bettina Aptheker,



APTHEKER

Albert "Mickey" Lima, Arnold Johnson, Ben Dobbs and Al Richmond.

But the most revealing insight into Skolnick's philosophy can be found in an article he wrote appearing this month in *Trans-Action*, a limited circulation journal for social scientists.

Skolnick takes issue with those who see danger in the "new forms of protest"; i.e., violence. "It is just as reasonable to assume that what is problematic is the failure to protest."

The Berkeley expert states flatly that "the issue today is not what is wrong with the younger generation in trying to overthrow the established institutions but what is wrong with the older generations in trying to conduct business as usual."

Insisting that it is "increasingly difficult to draw a line between crime and political activity," Skolnick suggests that the "young black man who sets fire to a downtown department store" may be engaged in "heroism."

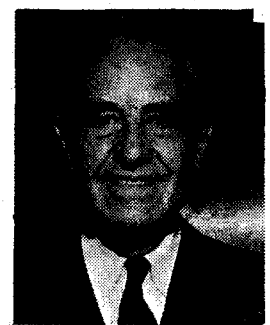
The Violence Commission staffer continues:

"Revolutionary situations pose a terrible dilemma for a liberal social scientist or other professional when he finds himself in sympathy with the motives of the revolutionaries, deprecates violent means, and at the same time recognizes that an emphasis on order may impede necessary and desirable change. The dilemma is particularly agonizing when he finds himself increasingly unable to distinguish contemporary morality and immorality. Which is preferable, the violent revolutionary act or the severe social sanctions that slowly, sometimes negligently, impinge upon masses of human beings on the basis of their racial or ethnic characteristics?"

Skolnick's apologia for urban violence is certain to be reflected in the Violence Commission's report. A source close to the commission reports that while the panel members—headed by Milton Eisenhower—will sign the report, the "direction has been set by the staff experts"—including Skolnick.

Another Harriman Fumble?

As the story is now unravelling, W. Averell Harriman, America's chief negotiator in Paris, may turn out to be the major reason why Saigon-Washington relationships have nearly come apart at the seams in the past two weeks. Harriman's contribution to the growing split has been divulged by Beverly Deepe, Saigon correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*. State Department sources have confirmed Miss Deepe's lengthy account of why Saigon's political leaders exploded at LBJ's decision to halt the bombing and call for a peace conference.



HARRIMAN

Harriman, Miss Deepe reveals, had made a major concession to Hanoi in the now famous secret peace package deal. But in Saigon, American Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker explained the package deal to President Thieu and the South Vietnamese government in such a way that this major concession was glossed over.

"The American concession," says Miss Deepe, "was the seating of the National Liberation Front (NLF) as a separate delegation at Paris—meaning that the expanded peace talks would be a four-power confer-

ence. Hanoi has consistently wanted such a conference, but Saigon has vowed for years that it would never negotiate with the Viet Cong as a separate entity."

In Saigon, however, Bunker, according to Miss Deepe's account, had secured President Thieu's agreement to go to a three-power conference—separate delegations for the United States, the South Vietnamese government and Hanoi, with the Viet Cong being represented as part of Hanoi's delegation.

"While we were haggling with Bunker about whether we'd go on November 2 or not," explained one Vietnamese, who kept a diary of events, "an aide came in and handed Thieu a cable from Lam in Paris. [Lam is South Vietnamese consul-general in Paris acting as official observer at the peace talks.] He had had an angry session with Phil Habib and Harriman in Paris.

"Harriman told Lam Hanoi had not agreed to anything and that 'all your [Saigon's] pretensions are out of this world.'" According to this South Vietnamese, Harriman also told Lam: "Hanoi did not accept your proposal [for a three-power conference], and we did not even ask Hanoi to accept it." Then Harriman ended up with that sentence *Newsweek* quoted correctly: "Your government does not represent all of South Viet Nam, Mr. Ambassador, and you would do well to remember that."

In brief, Lam believed Harriman had rejected South Viet Nam's negotiating position out of hand and was pushing for U.S.-Saigon recognition of the Viet Cong—a move that would pave the way for a coalition government in South Viet Nam.

Extremely puzzled, Bunker diplomatically said that maybe Lam misunderstood Harriman. But the Vietnamese replied: "Lam's English is not very good, but Habib's French is—and no one could misunderstand to that extent."

Bunker left dejected, but later came with assurances from LBJ that all of this was a misunderstanding, that the United States had no intention of recognizing the NLF as a separate entity. But the NLF's initial claim that it had been recognized—with no official counterclaim by the United States until the Saigon-Washington verbal war escalated—did not reassure the South Vietnamese.

At any rate, ever since the Lam telegram informing South Viet Nam of Harriman's views, the South Vietnamese have been worried that the United States plans to recognize the NLF and foist a coalition government on South Viet Nam. This has been repeatedly denied, but Harriman's actions and words have been most disquieting. And they are even more frightening when it is recalled that he played a major role in imposing coalition regimes in both Asia and Europe in the past.

- The South Vietnamese also think it's about time for the United States to resume the bombing of North Viet Nam. "What are the Americans waiting for?" exclaimed one influential Vietnamese last week. How many Americans have to be killed, he asked, before the United States admits that Hanoi has violated the supposed terms of the bombing halt? As one official summed up the Saigon point of view:

"The Americans claim they have a tacit agreement with Hanoi on deescalation. We would like to believe it. But 48 hours after being advised of the approaching bombing halt, the Viet Cong shelled Saigon. And yet the Americans have supposedly agreed that there should be no attacks on the cities.

"One day after the bombing halt, they [the Communists] shelled the town of My Tho. That perhaps could be explained by bad communications. But two days later, My Tho is shelled again. Then Can Tho. Now we have incidents in the DMZ."

Powell Back to House?

Is the notorious Harlem globetrotter, Adam Clayton Powell, soon to be rescued from the limbo accorded him when Congress expelled the veteran New York City representative in March 1967? Soundings taken among the House of Representatives' Democratic leadership reveal a widespread feeling that the

upcoming 91st Congress, unfettered by the actions of the last Congress, may decide to seat Powell as a freshman Democrat.

There are a number of reasons behind this new tolerant attitude toward the maverick congressman who was booted from Capitol Hill 21 months ago when his colleagues found him guilty of misappropriating some \$40,000 in federal payroll and travel funds. One is that Powell has since won two contests for reelection (including a special April 1967 contest) with over 80 per cent of the vote, thus demonstrating he is still first in the hearts of Harlemites despite the fact Powell has spent most of the recent months sunning on the isle of Bimini.

Secondly, Powell has arranged a settlement for the New York court sentence stemming from failure to pay off a libel judgment. The New York court battles were another reason for his congressional expulsion. Also, Powell has promised Democratic leaders not to put up a fight to retain the seniority he had accumulated in 23 years of House service, which included chairmanship of the vitally important Education and Labor Committee.

On top of all this, House Democrats are inclined to believe Powell's punishment has been sufficient and that his readmission would require no compromise of either rules or conscience. They also realize the 60-year-old Powell has been bypassed as a Negro spokesman both by militants outside Washington and younger black congressmen in the House.

Republican leaders, however, are in no hurry to cooperate with their Democratic colleagues on this matter. They note that Powell still has litigation in the courts, having sued the House leadership for alleged unconstitutional deprivation of his seat, and are willing to await the outcome of this battle before taking action in the House.

Ripon Backs Leftist Demo

House Republicans can thank that so-called Republican organization, the Ripon Society, for contributing to the victory of left-wing peacenik Allard K. Lowenstein. Lowenstein, a Democrat, won a narrow 4,000-vote victory in New York's 5th Congressional District over Mason Hampton, a conservative who ran with endorsements from both the Republican and Conservative parties.



LOWENSTEIN

Astonishing as it might appear, the *Ripon Forum*, house organ for the society, ran a guest editorial by Lowenstein before the election and then endorsed him for good measure. "Lest we forget," the editors warned, "Hampton is a draftsman of the Conservative party's platform, which calls for repeal of New York's Medicaid program and of enabling legislation for urban renewal." They also didn't like Hampton's position on welfare, the *Pueblo* affair and Jacob Javits.

Yet more to the point, the Riponers apparently did find themselves in favor of Lowenstein. Fully aware of Lowenstein's support of the left wing in American politics—including Sen. Eugene McCarthy for President—the Ripon editorial solemnly stresses: "We cannot be indifferent to what Allard Lowenstein has done for his country this year and will do in the future."

A vice-chairman of the ultra-liberal Americans for Democratic Action, Lowenstein led the movement behind Sen. McCarthy, whose foreign policy called for selling out Viet Nam to the Communists, appeasing the Soviets and Red Chinese in other global hotspots, initiating unilateral disarmament measures and initiating wildly expensive programs at home. Lowenstein, furthermore, was a big defender of the Communist-infiltrated peaceniks who tore up Chicago during the Democratic convention.

Nevertheless, it seems he was not too extreme for the Ripon Society to embrace.

Nixon Aids NATO

Richard Nixon's election has apparently already had a beneficial effect on American policy toward the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). According to reports from Brussels, Nixon's election and his strong support for a beefed-up NATO is enabling American officials to press successfully for a vigorous NATO response to the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. All member nations of the pro-Western military organization are making immediate plans to equip NATO with more advanced weaponry and improve the deployment of NATO troops. While such moves are late in coming, they may be able to forestall further Soviet aggression. Even as high-level NATO strategists were meeting in Brussels last week, there were ominous reports suggesting the Soviets were intending fresh moves against Berlin and, possibly, Rumania and Yugoslavia.

There is apparently such alarm about potential Soviet aggression that NATO officials are seriously considering exploding nuclear devices in NATO military exercises to underscore the fact that the West is perfectly willing to use nuclear weapons in any East-West confrontation.

As Nixon repeatedly pointed out in his campaign, the NATO organization has steadily deteriorated under the Kennedy-Johnson years. There has been, first of all, the discovery that NATO has been heavily penetrated by Communist agents.

President Kennedy also inflicted a blow against NATO when he introduced the "pause" theory. Under that malevolent doctrine, the U.S. stressed it would refrain from using nuclear weapons unless the Allies were on the verge of being overwhelmed by a conventional invasion. Finally, there has been a general weakening of NATO because of the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia.

In a speech to the annual assembly of NATO parliamentarians in Brussels last week, NATO chief-tain U.S. Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer warned that in the wake of the invasion "the military balance in Central Europe has been significantly altered" to the great disadvantage of the West.

Lemnitzer has been sounding similar warnings for many weeks. In Washington recently, the NATO commander stressed that the Soviet putsch proved the extreme readiness of the Warsaw Pact powers to pull off an invasion "without any tactical warning whatsoever." The Soviets, Lemnitzer contends, now have in Central Europe the largest and most readily usable combat force fielded by the Kremlin since World War II, and they have the capability for further moves. Finally, says Lemnitzer, the Soviet Union has revealed her willingness to "use her military power to achieve her aims" and to use it "without regard to world opinion." Unless we strengthen this alliance, Lemnitzer warns, we will be inviting further Red aggression in Europe. With Nixon's strong backing, that's apparently what Johnson hopes to achieve.

Pearson's Put-on

Walter Lippmann for secretary of state? Well, that's what columnist Drew Pearson and his colleague Jack Anderson have proposed in arguing that President-elect Nixon "must pick a coalition Cabinet with great care." Other than 70-year-old pundit Lippmann (who did back Nixon in the past campaign), Pearson and Anderson recommend Cabinet posts for three Democratic senators defeated in the recent elections: Oregon's Wayne Morse for attorney general, Pennsylvania's Joe Clark for secretary of housing and urban development, and Oklahoma's Mike Monroney for secretary of interior. And maybe Bobby Baker for secretary of the treasury?

Will Labor Finally Back Teddy?

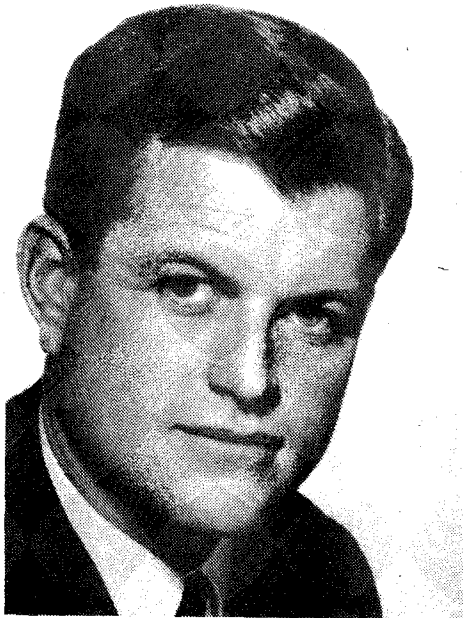
By VICTOR RIESEL

Ted Kennedy's 1972 presidential campaign was launched quietly here in New York City the other day.

The tears of a stout-hearted loser hardly had dried when the Kennedy clan called in its now veteran campaigners, chroniclers, strategists and savants.

There were brother-in-law Steve Smith and lawyer-poet Ted Sorensen. The others are not important, for they carry merely the nuts and bolts of the newest political machine.

This was created in the image of Jack and Bob Kennedy—except for one detail. The tragic brothers, each in



Sen. Ted Kennedy (D.-Mass.), despite a relative aloofness from Big Labor, will need its help if he has White House hopes.

their time, wooed the massive American labor movement. Today's young Kennedy has not. Neither have his counselors—though without labor there is no viable Democratic party. Jack Kennedy knew it. Bob Kennedy knew it. Even Gene McCarthy knew it.

So well did Sen. McCarthy know it, and so highly did he evaluate the labor leaders' power, that he personally attempted to swing the AFL-CIO to his campaign in its earliest days.

It never has been reported. But the senator-laureate from Minnesota, whose literary legions did so much to mock the movement's chiefs as a slow-moving herd of aged elephants, actually tried to reach labor president George Meany a few hours after Lyndon Johnson opted out.

At that moment, the opposition appeared to be only the late-starting Bob Kennedy. Mr. McCarthy's quest was futile.

Bob Kennedy did just a mite better. He did reach Mr. Meany, leader of 14 million workers. He did confer with the impassive, cigar-chewing devotee of Hubert Humphrey. And he was turned down in an atmosphere which, if bottled, would replace the refrigerator.

Yet Bob Kennedy and the erudite Sorensen never gave up. Bob knew, and Ted Sorensen knows, that no Democrat can be nominated, nor can he campaign effectively, nor can he seriously call the surviving claptrap mechanism a "party" without the advice and consent of America's labor movement.

From now on American politics will be much like that of Britain, Scandinavia, Germany and Italy. The labor movement will be the base, the machinery, the treasury of the left-of-center party. Hubert Humphrey is the

Harold Wilson and Willy Brandt of the United States.

This is one of the basic lessons to come out of this campaign.

No matter how split, the union chiefs almost always unite on a presidential candidate. Shoulder to shoulder with George Meany in this campaign stood such stalwarts as Walter Reuther, Frank Fitzsimmons (of the Teamsters), and Tony Boyle (of the Miners).

Were it not for this concentrated power, Mr. Humphrey, gallant fighter though he is, would not have taken Michigan, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Washington, D.C., Massachusetts or Connecticut. Had that genial ship-building union leader and former Hoboken mayor, John Grogan, who had all the great Irish political reflexes, not died some weeks ago, labor would have taken New Jersey for the vice president.

As it was, they came fairly close.

And New Jersey was typical of states such as Illinois and Missouri, which were lost by what once could be considered narrow margins.

When the Democratic National Committee hit a snag in New Jersey, Larry O'Brien's office would call, say, the amiable Larry Molloy, the International Longshoremen's Association's (AFL-CIO) cool public relations man.

Molloy would contact Jersey. There, after consulting with former congressman and auto union official Paul Krebs, word was relayed to Newark's black Local 1233, led by Lester Gardner. Then 50 Negro activists were dispatched into the key precincts to get out the black vote.

And there were the moments when Hubert Humphrey was getting a rough deal from the heckling hippies. Again, word went out to the unions. Molloy constantly with Mr. Humphrey shot the message to longshoremen locals on the Atlantic Coast and in Great Lake ports. In the latter, a unique busing system was developed by Pat Sullivan, secretary-treasurer of the ILA's Great Lakes Council.

Some 200 dockwallopers, and the word is not used casually, were organized to move in fast buses. They could handle either end of a picket sign. So when the hippies heckled Humphrey's allies, the dockers hoisted counter-signs. If the hecklers gave any thought to roughing up the Democrat's meetings, they were dissuaded by the sight of the brawny pier men.

After a while, the hecklers got the point before it was necessary to use a hook.

But this is merely one of a thousand services rendered by labor to the candidate it loved. Fabulous, mechanized, computerized state machines were built by labor's Jim Farley, otherwise known as Al Barkan—and the men who command him, otherwise known as the so-called fuddy-duddy AFL-CIO Executive Council.

And they did come to within a few hundred thousand votes of winning for Hubert.

Labor will not surrender this machine. It will remain the party. Not all the talent and glamor and remembrances of ancient Camelot can change that.

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THIS CHRISTMAS, we are hopeful that sound ideas will again prevail in the White House. But as we said in last week's issue, the "conservative battle is hardly over." Not only must conservatives influence the new administration, but we must wage the all-important fight for a conservative Congress. "Conservatives must continue to make their demands heard, and, as in the past, HUMAN EVENTS will continue to inform its readers about important actions that can be taken."

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Nixon Faces Fight On Heavy Use of 'Tax Credits'

By PAUL SCOTT

The magic words in the new Nixon Administration will be "tax credits."

If the Democratic congressional barrier can be hurdled, these special tax benefits will become the cornerstone upon which the Republican domestic program will be built.

Congressional advisers say President-elect Nixon will make heavy use of tax credits to foster industry participation in the solution of a long list of urban problems and to help the poor.

The controversial new tax incentives, which will be recommended to Congress over the next two years, will take a variety of forms as follows:

- Tax credits—to be charged off directly against a corporation's taxes—will be granted for construction of new plants and homes in ghetto areas.
- Earnings from new plants in ghetto areas would be offered exemption from the federal corporation tax for a period of years.
- Companies would be allowed tax deductions for launching programs offering job training to the hard-core unemployed.
- For individuals, tax deductions would be granted for all or part of the expense of education and job training.

In taking this tax-credit approach, Nixon and his financial advisers believe that they can cut back or level off huge government spending anti-poverty and urban development programs.

For example, Nixon plans to phase out both the Job Corps and Community Action projects under the scandal-ridden Office of Economic Opportunity.

Nixon's argument to Congress will be that the "multiplier" effect of the tax credits would be to insure private spending of several times as much as the government's resulting loss in tax revenues. Also, Nixon will claim, the eventual results would be more, rather than less, revenue.

Whether this "selling approach" will convince Rep. Wilbur D. Mills (D.-Ark.), chairman of the tax-writing House Ways and Means Committee, is conjectural.

Mills, a vigorous opponent of tax credits proposals in the past, will be Nixon's biggest barrier. Over the past year, Mills has made two major speeches denouncing tax credit schemes. He regards these tax incentives as inefficient because some of the tax rewards go for projects industry would build anyway.

In his most recent anti-tax credit pronouncement, Mills charged that these tax concessions amount in effect "to uncontrolled government spending."

Rep. John Byrnes (R.-Wis.), ranking Republican on the tax-writing committee and close friend to Nixon, has been given the job of trying to sell the tax credit program to Mills.

Byrnes believes he can win Mills over if Nixon agrees to place strict limitations on the tax advantages. He would give them to companies working to solve the problems of the poor, the ghettos, air and water pollution and education costs.

In exchange for Mills' support for tax credits, Byrnes indicated that Nixon is ready to go along with a general hold-down in over-all government spending.

"Nixon regards expenditure controls as the key to getting his new tax credit program," Byrnes recently told another GOP colleague.

While Nixon is strongly committed to ending the 10 per cent surtax, the outcome of the Viet Nam truce talks in Paris and the war expenditures will probably determine if the surtax lapses on schedule next June 30.

Several of Nixon's advisers want him to keep the tax until the end of 1969 or until Congress enacts his new tax program.

For the longer range, Nixon has his financial and tax advisers studying the idea of a "value-added tax" which over the years would be used to cut back on individual and corporation income tax rates.

That tax is like a sales tax in its impact but more like an income tax in the way it is collected. Instead of being imposed on the final sale of a product, as most sales taxes are, the value-added tax is collected piecemeal on products as they move through various stages of production.

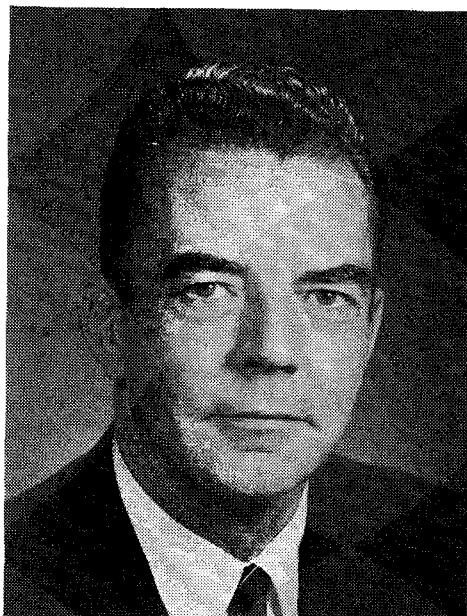
Continued from Page 1

the popular vote totals, divided up the electoral result and impeded Republican efforts to make any sizable headway in Congress. That Nixon succeeded in winning the election anyway is testimony not only to the over-all strength of anti-liberal sentiment, but also to the wisdom of the Republican nominee's rapprochement with the South.

Because Nixon is not one to go whole-hog in such matters, he did not adopt the all-out "Southern strategy" favored by some conservatives. Yet the logic of his campaign was to break away crucial Southern and border states from Wallace by a strong appeal on the themes of limited government and an end to violence. This was a consistent line of development from his convention alliance with Strom Thurmond to his stress on conservative issues in the election. Nixon campaign manager John Mitchell was reportedly adamant in sticking to this tactic.

The Wallace factor represents the major difficulty the Nixon Administration will face in office and the major impediment the GOP will face in coming elections. Nearly 10 million Americans voted for Wallace rather than Nixon as an alternative to the Johnson-Humphrey liberalism. Where will these people go in the years ahead? Will they be absorbed into the Republican party? Or will the ranks of the Wallace movement continue to expand?

The answer depends on Republican performance. If the Nixon Administration pursues a course of sensible conservatism, then the popular and electoral votes that went to Wallace could go to Nixon in 1972. If the GOP veers leftward, as advised by liberal pundits, then the Wallace movement could become even bigger and more troublesome for the GOP than is already the case.



Rep. John Byrnes (R.-Wis.) has been given the job of selling the tax credit program to Rep. Wilbur Mills.

Preliminary studies prepared for Nixon show that if a "value-added tax" is applied across the board on all goods and services, the tax would yield be-

tween \$5 and \$6 billion a year for each point of the rate.

A flat 5 per cent rate would raise upward of \$30 billion a year.

Nixon's advisers also see the "value-added tax" as a weapon in solving the problem of this country's trade and balance-of-payments problems.

At the present time, countries in Europe slow down U.S. imports by imposing their "value-added tax" on incoming goods. They subsidize exports—including those to the U.S.—by rebating the value-added tax that they have collected on outgoing goods.

Under present international trade agreements the United States is not permitted to give U.S. companies rebates on direct corporation taxes. However, if a "value-added tax" was imposed, rebates would be made to U.S. exporters.

Nixon believes this would permit exporters to lower prices and increase sales—thus improving this country's international accounts.

Why GOP Must Move Right

These considerations are particularly important with respect to Congress. If this year's election is to mark a new beginning for the GOP, then the 1970 by-elections should reflect some Republican growth. The party will have to build itself toward majority status in the Congress, beginning with the House of Representatives. Here, as in the electoral college, the Southern states provide the key to Republican success.

The biggest disappointment for the GOP in this November's voting was the party's failure to make much headway in Congress. Why this failure occurred is a topic of some speculation among Republican professionals. The GOP did achieve some Senate turn-overs, and made excellent progress in the governor's races. But in the House of Representatives it made hardly any progress at all.

Reasons alleged for this range from the late-blooming surge of Hubert Humphrey to the last-minute bomb pause announced by President Johnson. Again, however, the Wallace vote seems crucial. The third-party campaign kept the protest ballots fragmented and prevented the kind of massive sweep at the presidential level that causes voters to pull a single party lever and carry in a ticket from top to bottom. In state after state, Republican congressmen had to run ahead of Nixon in order to win—a result directly traceable to Wallace. This reinforces the notion that the GOP must insure that the Wallace movement does not continue to grow in the years to come.

Finally, analysis of where the new Republican congressmen were supposed to come from in this election points in exactly the same direction. The two most likely sources of new GOP representatives this year were supposed to be the East and the South. The East, where the congressional GOP has been going downhill in recent years, flopped once again. The party made virtually no headway here in the 1966 by-elections and had plenty of marginal seats

to shoot at, but came up virtually empty-handed. One new seat in Connecticut was all it had to show for its efforts.

In the South, where the Wallace tide was running strong, the party's gains were also limited. Yet here the signs are hopeful. Despite the Wallace campaign, the GOP lost none of its incumbencies in Dixie. And it continued its record of growth over the past few years, adding a net gain of one new congressman in North Carolina and one more in Virginia. This gives the Southern Republicans no less than 29 congressmen—compared to eight in 1960.

The importance of the South to Republican prospects in Congress becomes even more apparent when we note that the GOP's minority position has stemmed directly from its lack of representation in Dixie. This has given the Democrats a 100-seat headstart in the battle for control of the House. The GOP's only hope for attaining solid congressional majorities is to cut into this Southern-Democratic margin—which it has been doing in recent years.

Net Republican gains in Congress over the past few years, in fact, are almost entirely owing to progress in the South. The recent track records of the East and the South suggest that, if the GOP is going to move toward majority status, it must continue this improvement in Dixie.

President-elect Nixon has a chance to seek new directions for the United States and for his party. If his Administration follows through on the ideas spelled out in his campaign, and if responsible conservatism is the keynote of Republican efforts, he can move America away from collectivism and domestic anarchy. He can also solidify the Republican presidential majority and build the party toward majority status in Congress. By serving the nation, he can also serve the enlightened interests of the GOP.

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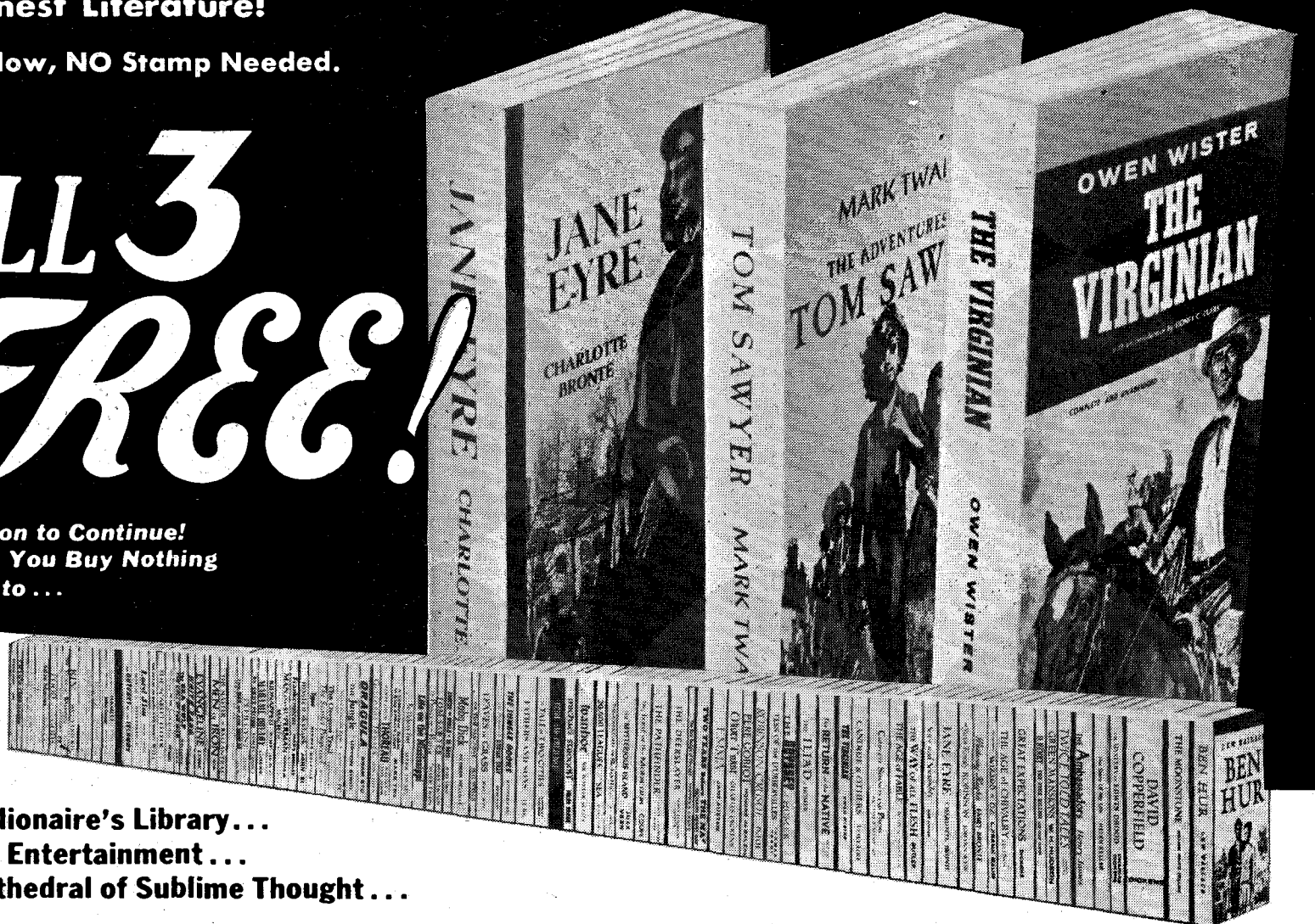
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The Case for Keeping the Panama Canal

By ELLIS O. BRIGGS

(One of the hot issues for the new Administration will be control of the Panama Canal. In this article one of America's most distinguished diplomats tells why the United States must keep the canal. Ellis Briggs has been U.S. ambassador to eight countries, four of them in Latin America. He is the author of Farewell to Foggy Bottom and Shots Heard Round the World.)

Now that the voters of Panama have elected and inaugurated an anti-American medicine man to be President of that turbulent republic, American partisans of the "New Diplomacy" may be expected to resume their drive to give away the Panama Canal. They are already calling for submission to the Senate of the draft agreements negotiated in 1967, ratification of which—a prelude to "giving Manhattan Island back to the Indians"—would establish Panamanian participation in canal tolls, canal control, and in Canal Zone administration.

No such sell-out of the interests of the United States has been attempted since our nation was founded.

For over 50 years Panama has lived off the canal, and off the fruits of demagogically inspired anti-Americanism. For the last decade, since Nasser seized the Suez Canal and got away with it, the Panamanian politicians have dreamed of little else than swindling the United States out of its waterway.

In their search for pretexts the politicians have invented all manner of complaints and grievances against the United States. They have repeatedly villified the United States, and they have incited the population of Panama against us.

Addled American liberals, abetted by appeasers and by the practitioners of the "New Diplomacy," applaud these endeavors. They seek to rationalize their stand by declaring that by the acquisition of the Panamanian jungle over 60 years ago, the United States was guilty of a "shameful act," derogatory to the dignity of the people of the isthmus, to whom reparation must now be made. They declare that in today's world unilateral control of the international waterway is obsolete. They say modern statesmanship demands internationalism, instead of operation of a canal by one country, and that giving Panama a share of control would thus be a "step in the right direction."

These give-away patriots likewise aver that it would be impossible to operate the Panama Canal in a hostile environment; that is, unless the *panameños* can be brought to love the United States, we might just as well kiss the canal goodbye anyway—so why not do so now, gracefully, before we are kicked out as trespassers on Panamanian territory?

These citizens seem to forget that the armed forces of Panama consist of a handful of militia, whereas the United States maintains on the isthmus a defense establishment so formidable that if anyone tries to uproot a single palm-tree along the right of way—let alone tamper with the locks, dams or spillways—he is likely to be remanded forthwith to the nearest Canal Zone police court, along with his confiscated machete.

Let us, as a wise governor of New York State advised long ago, take a look at the record.

The record discloses that the rights of the United States with re-

spect to the Panama Canal were bought and paid for, and that the United States has no obligation to modify those rights in favor of the politicians of Panama, the philosophers of appeasement, or the one-world internationalists.

Secondly, the behavior of Panama in its relations with the United States does not inspire confidence.

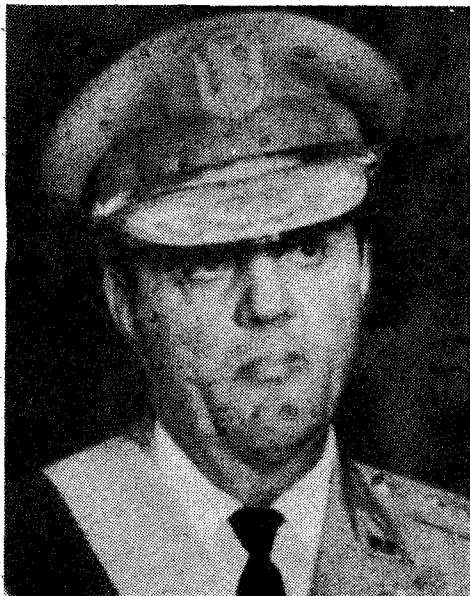
Thirdly, the Washington record of turning the other cheek has contributed to the delinquency of the demagogues of the isthmus.

Lastly, the proposed "new arrangements," involving surrender of American rights, would imperil the maintenance of the Panama Canal and hence would jeopardize the security of the United States.

These four points merit further scrutiny:

American rights in the Canal Zone were acquired in 1904, by a treaty signed the previous year. By that treaty the United States bought, for cash plus an annuity, a 50-mile strip, 10 miles wide, through the tropical forest—a pestilential area, wracked by fevers, but containing the most feasible pass between the two oceans.

The American people went to work in this menacing and inhospitable environment, and in the ensuing 11 years they wrought a miracle in the jungle—they created a disease-free ocean highway, which remains to this day one of the wonders of the world. Two factors stand out as responsible for the phenomenal success of the venture—the ability of Americans to plan and execute

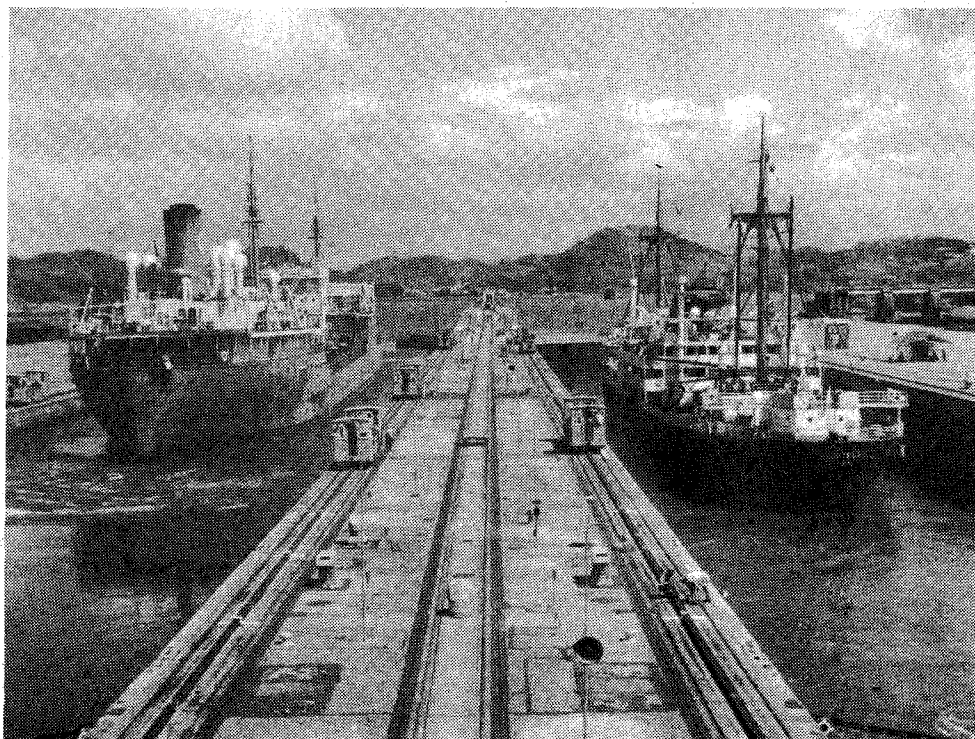


Demonstrating the instability of Panamanian politics, Col. Jose Pinilla overthrew the legal government of that country last month.

vast projects, and the exercise of exclusive control over the area of operations.

For over half a century the United States has maintained this ocean highway, without prejudice or discrimination, and has operated it for the benefit of the commerce of all nations. The record of the United States is not only creditable, it is inspiring. Few enterprises as creditable as the Panama Canal are inscribed in the pages of history.

The United States has maintained the canal to the very great profit of the Republic of Panama, the independence of which was guaranteed in the original treaty. Had it not been for the United States, the inhabitants of Panama might still be crossing the continental divide on muleback, slapping mosquitoes, and poling their dugout canoes down the muddy Chagres River—as they did for three centuries under Spain,



The Panamanians themselves are the greatest beneficiaries of the canal; it has brought that nation countless economic advantages. But some local politicians only see it as a tool to wring concessions from Uncle Sam.

and for many years thereafter under Colombia.

The cost of the Panama Canal, paid by American taxpayers, exceeded \$350 million gold dollars, worth many times that amount in the depreciated paper currency of 1968.

That cost included what was paid to Panama for the Canal Zone, plus the amount paid for the defunct French concession and for the railroad originally built in the 1850's by American capital. It included the cost of digging through Culebra Cut, and erecting the locks and dams and hospitals and machine shops involved in the gigantic canal undertaking. The figure does not include the large and continuing cost of defense installations.

High costs of acquisition and construction notwithstanding, the Panama Canal tolls have been maintained since the seaway was opened at a reasonable level. The public vessels of Panama and Colombia are put through the locks free of charge, but the ships of the United States, and of all the other nations of the world, pay a standard, non-discriminatory charge, which has not been raised since 1915.

Although the Republic of Panama made no contribution to the construction or subsequent maintenance of the Panama Canal, the Treaty of 1903 has twice—in 1936 and in 1955—been substantially modified in Panama's favor.

The annuity paid by the United States (\$1.93 million) now stands at eight times the stipulated amount.

There is equality by law as between Panamanian and American citizens working in the Canal Zone. Of the total force of approximately 15,000 employees, 11,000 or more than two-thirds are citizens of Panama, and their government is allowed to tax the wages of those Panamanians on the canal payroll—an important additional source of isthmian revenue.

Various parcels of Canal Zone real estate, worth many millions of dollars, retention of which after the canal was completed was not considered essential to canal operations, have been transferred to Panama, without cost to that government.

A trans-isthmian automobile highway, across Panamanian territory and paralleling the Canal Zone, was constructed by the United States for Panama without cost to the latter. (Panama, incident-

tally, has failed to maintain this gift turnpike.)

A great bridge, again at no cost to Panama, connects Panama City, the capital of the republic, with the western half of the country. There is no charge for using this facility, which constitutes a land link between North and South America.

In short, the United States has invariably sought to meet legitimate Panamanian representations, and to do the fair, the generous thing, by the country bisected by the canal and bordering its ocean highway.

The behavior of Panama emphasizes the danger of further concessions.

Unhappily, Panama is still a land of endemic revolution, and revolution—if Panama had a part in running the canal—would not be conducive to successful canal operations. The most recent uprising was attempted in March 1968, and Arnulfo Arias, now president, declared that "Panama is not yet a country but a tribal affair." Tribesmen may as individuals be estimable people, but they are unlikely to be effective partners in the functioning of an international thoroughfare.

Each modification of the 1903 treaty has been pounced upon by Panamanian politicians as "proof" of original American sin. They have misrepresented the jurisdictional issue. They have sought falsely to identify the United States presence within the Canal Zone with "colonialism." They have portrayed Americans within the zone as subhuman monsters, bent on abusing Panamanian citizens.

The Panama Canal, to the isthmian politicians, has been converted into the symbol by which popular passions can be ignited, and the Panamanian people diverted from consideration of the internal problems facing the republic.

Communists throughout the hemisphere make common cause with these disturbers of the peace, and with those who disparage the United States.

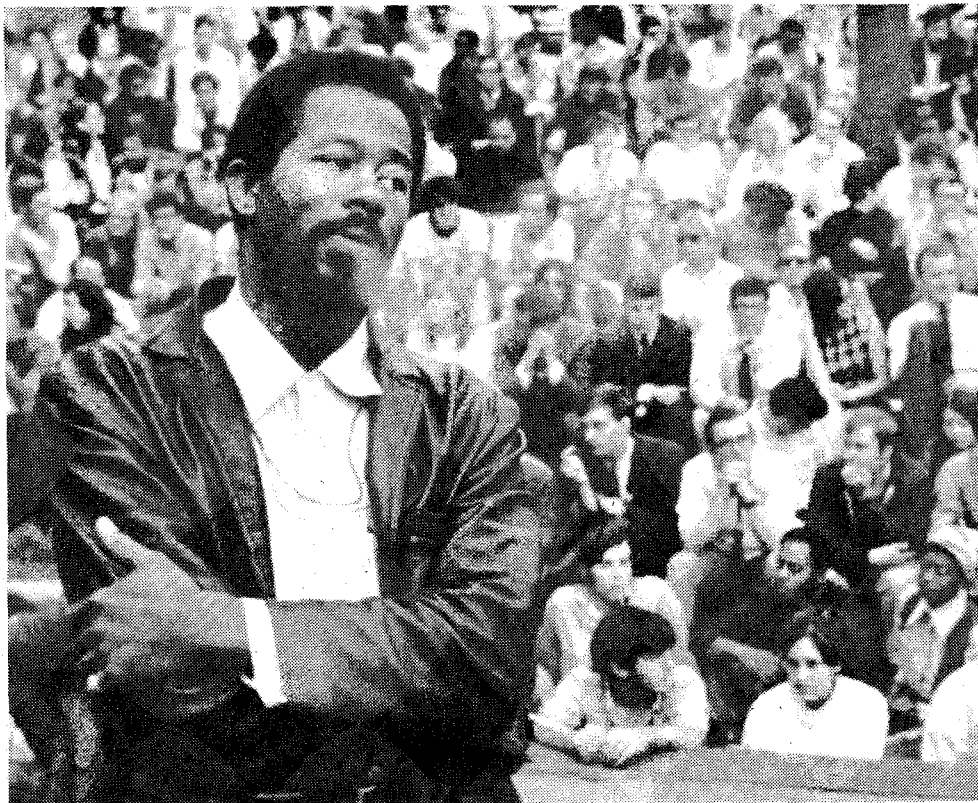
The American record of appeasement has encouraged delinquency on the part of isthmian politicians, resulting in progressively more extravagant demands against the United States.

Panamanian politicians learned early

(Continued on page 15)



Eldridge Cleaver speaks to 4,000 University of California students at Berkeley during an October 30 pre-Election Day rally. Although Cleaver had been warned not to use obscenities on campus, Cleaver led the rally in chanting vulgar anti-Reagan slogans.



Cleaver has not confined his activities to California. At Washington, D.C.'s American University, the black militant said all races must unite to bring down what he called the racist power structure in the United States.

The Eldridge Cleaver Affair

If You Were Governor of California, What Would You Do?

By ROBERT BAILEY

Ronald Reagan's 1966 landslide victory in California for the governor's seat was, in part, a repudiation of rampant permissiveness on state campuses of higher education. Many believed Reagan's most important campaign issue was his promise to do something about student disruption. To the citizens who elected him, nothing appears to have improved regarding campus defiance since he took office. He is losing the trust of many fed-up Californians, and voters in large numbers did not conceal the fact that they shifted their loyalty to Wallace's American Independent party because they felt the governor had let them down.

What the average observer doesn't realize is precisely what the mechanics are that have made it impossible to date for Reagan to carry out his promise to "clean up the campuses." California college campuses are functions of the state, governed by the University of California Board of Regents and the State College Board of Trustees. Gov. Reagan, along with the other state deficits, inherited former Gov. Pat Brown's predominantly ultra-liberal governing bodies for his system of higher education. Since taking office he has been able to make only two appointments to each of these governing bodies. With the ex-officio members of his staff as board members he is closing the gap that separates these policy-making bodies from the people of California, but he still lacks the voting power to bring about the change he had promised.

Both of these boards suffer from the same liberal hangups regarding the distinction between academic freedom and student anarchy that has plagued the nation for years. They are also terrified by the prospect of "confrontation politics" and prefer their own brand of "procrastination politics." The theory is that if you can delay a decision long enough the "kids" will forget what they were trying to confront you with.

In California, a long series of con-

frontations between radical student-faculty groups and the regents of U.C. have resulted with the regents collapsing when faced with the prospect of another debacle like the Sproul Hall affair at Berkeley in 1964.

In May 1968 Gov. Reagan seethed over the idea that Berkeley professors and students planned a "Vietnam Commencement" to be held in the university's Greek Theater. The mock graduation ceremony was to honor and support what would once have been called "draft dodgers." Hundreds of professors signed pledges to "support those young men with encouragement, counsel and financial aid" who refused induction. The regents' chambers, rocked by their struggle with liberal conscience and the law, concluded, with probable reluctance, that the whole affair might be against the federal law and refused to allow the program to take place.

The governor and his constituents felt a renewed, if short-lived, hope in the attitude of the regents, but campus radicals are adept at circumventing authority. In spite of the "Vietnam Commencement" being judged "illegal," the sponsors were permitted by the campus administration to hold a "Vietnam Rally" on the steps of Sproul Hall, where the entire program was conducted as originally planned.

The master of ceremonies for this spectacle was U.C.'s Prof. Leon Wofsy, who had spent the major part of his adult life as national director of youth for the Communist party and has been a leader of the "peace" movement since arriving at U.C. in 1964.

Again the nation is watching with wonder as Gov. Reagan wrestles with the newest issue created by campus radicals to advance "confrontation politics." This time the campus climate-makers have been exploiting a mild regent rebuff to ex-convict-turned-writer Eldridge Cleaver.

Originally scheduled for 10 lectures on the race issue by an amazing student-initiated course, Cleaver was cut back to one lecture by a compromise decision of the regents after they were

deluged by letters from enraged voters and were confronted with some of the examples of Cleaver's Black Panther "philosophy."

Gov. Reagan had pressed the board to completely bar Cleaver from lecturing on campus. He had the overwhelming support of the state legislature, which had voted to censure U.C. officials for allowing the appointment of Cleaver as a lecturer.

Twenty-five thousand Californians registered their complaints with the governor's office, while only a few hundred supported Cleaver's "academic freedom." The legislature was angry, the public was angry, and a healthy segment of the campus community was angry at the red carpet treatment given Cleaver, rapist, revolutionary and advocate of militant violence, according to the Sacramento Union.

Defying constituted authority and creating a showdown is the essence of "confrontation politics" and campus radicals have an impressive record of wins in the on-going contest. U.C. faculty members working with the students behind the Cleaver lectures have said the program will go on as scheduled despite the regents' ruling. He is giving his complete set of lectures and the issue of "credit" is being "negotiated."

Cleaver told an overflow campus audience: "The buffoons said I could only deliver one lecture instead of 10. I am going to deliver 20. And when the time comes I'm not going to pay my income taxes. . . ."

As the pot began to boil the Communist *People's World* carried banner headlines: "Basic Confrontation at Cal:—THE CLEAVER CRISIS," and proceeded to devote its front page to the new "confrontation" issue that can be expected to sweep U.S. campuses in months to come.

The *PW* refers to the "widespread conviction on campus that the particular fury of the politicians and the regents at Cleaver's lecturing was inspired by racism." Picking up the Red theme, U.C.'s campus paper editorializes: "If the Board of Regents is not stopped here, there will be no academic freedom at the University of California. Just as free universities posed the greatest threat to . . . fascism in Germany, so

today students and faculty threaten America's Establishment. . . . Careful action must be planned, action that will recruit the widespread support and latent support to fight the regent's rulings. . . ."

The reporter who wrote the *PW* story, a one-time U.C. employe and radical student, stated: ". . . this crisis started with the united anger of thousands of students radicalized by the events of the last four years . . . statements of the students involved in organizing Social Analysis 139X [Cleaver's course] . . . point to the reactionary, racist, big business character of the regents, and to the character of the university. . . ."

The *PW* naturally knew what it was talking about, for unlike other newspapers its reporters are often reporter-activists with a degree of involvement with the stories they write about, and could safely forecast what the Cleaver/racism issue, on the campus might become.

The idea caught fire. The Campus Cong suddenly appeared on the Berkeley campus from across the United States: Mark Rudd, Columbia University riot leader; SDS-founder Tom Hayden, having moved his headquarters to Berkeley's Mecca of student uprisings, shared the spotlight with fellow sparkplugs fresh from the Chicago convention disruption, Yippies Jerry Rubin and Stewart Albert.

On October 30 Cleaver appeared with Hayden, Rubin and Albert at a student rally at Berkeley where the speakers encouraged their audience to do anything they could to disrupt Election Day voting. After having been threatened with arrest by a U.C. regent if he ever used obscenities on campus again, Cleaver toned down his speech. By telling the 4,000 people listening to him that he couldn't use his favorite four-letter word to describe the governor but there was nothing to stop them, he got a synchronized, obscene shout, "---- Reagan! ---- Reagan!"

Radical students seizing on the Cleaver-lecture issue rapidly assembled a rebel organization to confront the administration and the Board of Regents. At the October regents' meeting on the U.C. campus at Santa Cruz hostile stu-

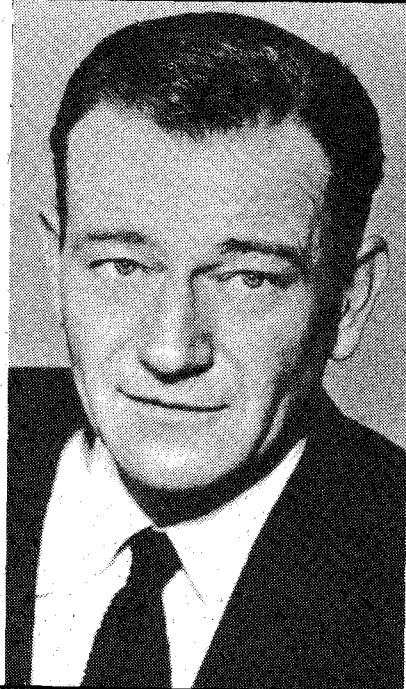
Continued on page 12

Robert Bailey is the pen name of a West Coast free-lance writer and specialist on internal security affairs.

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Appendix to the Returns

By MORRIE RYSKIND

There's a chance we may go to Washington for the Inauguration. After all, the Nixons dropped in at our house during his Senate race, and my wife thinks it's time we repaid a longtime social debt.

On the other hand, I may boycott the event, since the election result was in flagrant disregard of the wishes of the upper echelon of TV broadcasters. I don't like to see a minority slighted.

Early in the campaign I noted 1968 resembled 1932 closely, in that the public had turned against the man chosen overwhelmingly four years before. And that, I thought, indicated the opposition party would win.

So it proved. But the expected walk-over became a cliffhanger with LBJ's announcement of our cease-fire in Viet Nam. The hopes that raised haven't panned out, but the political ploy paid off handsomely.

I realized California would be close when the boys who wouldn't give Hubert the time of day suddenly began hailing him. Hubert, whose earlier appearances here on the Coast were marred by hecklers, had overnight become the fair-haired boy. He rode through crowds in the last days as a conqueror, not an outcast.

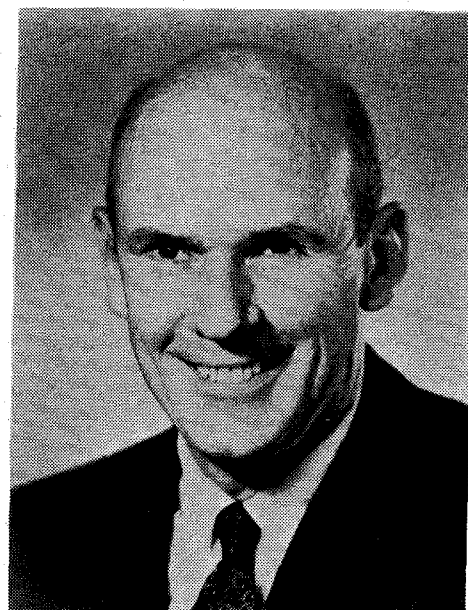
Rev. Abernathy, who had cut Hubert at Resurrection City, now embraced him; Arthur Schlesinger, Gene McCarthy and Jesse Unruh, all of whom had treated Hubert as a pariah, were in his corner.

All of this showed in the early returns, and we who recalled 1960 were aware we were in for another uneasy night. Nor did the TV newscasters who editorialized their reports with revealing verbiage and even more revealing intonations help any. All we GOP listeners wanted were the facts, ma'am—but we got them diluted with plenty of individual bias on the big three TV networks.

Mind you, I'm grateful for TV's contribution on election night, but I wish the boys would stop showing their druthers. I don't say it was as bad as 1964, when you could count the CBS, NBC and ABC broadcasters who were for Barry on the fingers of a man with no hands. And, to be fair, Howard K. Smith, who had once celebrated Nixon's political demise, was objective this time.

But there were others. Such as the guy who recited with obvious glee the results in New York and Massachusetts, but suddenly blurted out, "Uh, uh, here's some bad news—Wayne Morse is trailing in Oregon."

And the lady who, with the count



Right after his election, Alan Cranston (above) thanked Sen. Thomas Kuchel for his "golden silence."

showing HHH ahead in the popular vote, spoke indignantly of Nixon's offer to Hubert that they agree their electoral ballots go to the one with the larger vote. Her attitude was that Nixon, as a man of his word, should turn his states over to Humphrey.

Her Freudian slip was showing. Nixon's offer was based on the contingency that neither man received an Electoral College majority. And, further, Hubert had spurned the proposal on the ground that the Constitution did not so provide. It was clear he thought that if the election went to the House, it was in the bag for him.

Ironically, almost as soon as the lady finished her harangue, the later tally showed Nixon with a 200,000 lead in the popular vote.

And then there was the chap with a mind like an IBM computer. As Nixon's California lead began lengthening, this TV Einstein deduced that HHH would have won the state except for Wallace's siphoning off Demo votes.

He proved this by a formula showing that Cranston, Demo candidate for senator, was beating Rafferty by about the same margin as Nixon's lead. Ergo, these Democrats had stuck by Cranston, but had left Hubert for Wallace. Q.E.D.

That a Wallaceite could possibly vote for a left-winger like Cranston is a doozy if I ever heard one. A much simpler explanation is that Wallaceites voted a straight ticket—which offered no senatorial candidate.

And give credit to lame duck Tom Kuchel, whom Cranston replaces. That alleged GOP man had refused to back Rafferty as he had previously refused to back Nixon, Barry, Murphy and Reagan. And many of his followers openly supported Cranston.

Indeed, Cranston's first public utterance on the results thanked Kuchel for his "golden silence." So though I mourn Rafferty's defeat, the GOP Senate loss is negligible: Cranston and Kuchel stand alike on nitty-gritty issues.

As I see it, it was Orange County which put California in the Nixon column and gave him the 40 electoral votes he needed. This time, at least, as Orange County went so went the nation. Who needs Maine?

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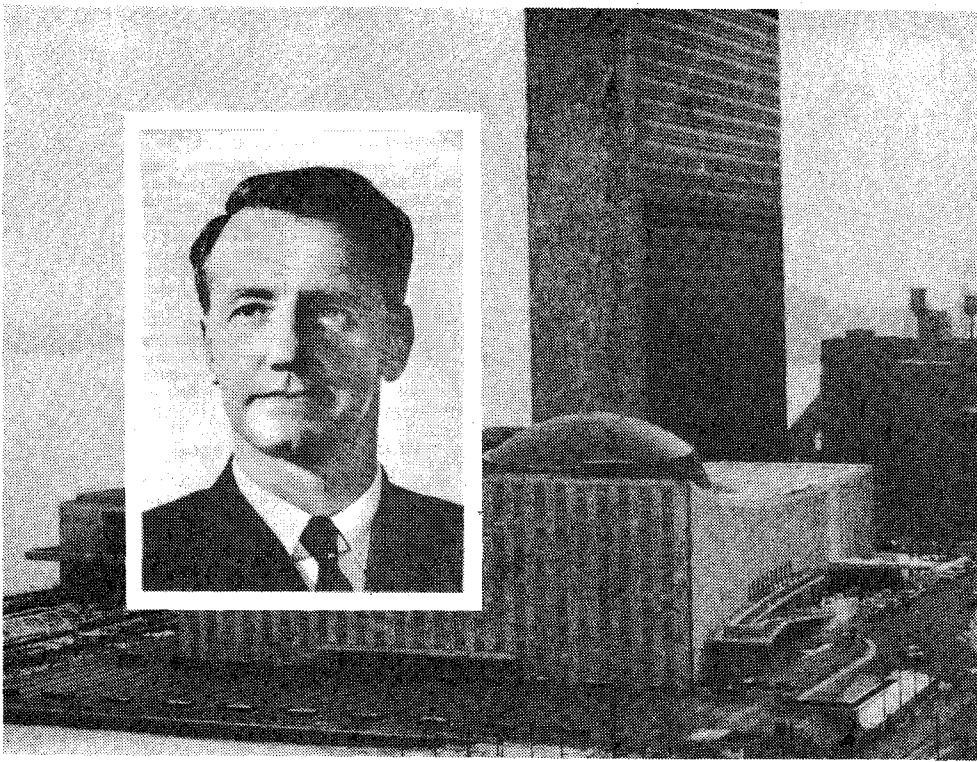
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The United Nations persists in harassing the independent regime of Prime Minister Ian Smith (inset) despite the fact that the country is no threat to the stability of Africa.

U.N. vs. Rhodesia

Keeping Peace, African Style

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

It is a reassuring measure of the essential sanity of the American press that the worst lunacies of the United Nations seldom are reported at length. That glassy Tower of Babel is a veritable factory of resolutions, some of them sensible and some of them moonshine. The prudent custom of copy editors is to bury the nonsense in three paragraphs back with the used car ads.

This was the case a few weeks ago when the General Assembly's Trusteeship Committee—which is to say, the General Assembly itself—adopted a remarkable resolution having to do with Rhodesia. The story got very little play in the news. This was a pity, for men and organizations are understood not by their wisdom alone, but by their folly as well.

This was a long resolution, composed of a windy preamble and 16 ringing assertions. It begins with an expression of concern for the "dangerous situation" that obtains in Rhodesia, without bothering to explain that the dangerous situation is the handiwork of power-hungry terrorists.

The authors of the resolution were disappointed that economic sanctions imposed by the Security Council had failed to produce the "desired result." They were disappointed that Great Britain, which in their view is the "administering power" for Rhodesia, had failed to put an end to the illegal regime in Rhodesia and to turn the country over to the people of Zimbabwe (as the blacks of Rhodesia would like to be known). Therefore, the committee:

"Affirms the conviction that the only effective way of quelling the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia is through the use of force by the administering power;

"Condemns the failure and the refusal of the government of the United Kingdom . . . to take effective measures to bring down the illegal racist minority regime and to transfer power to the people of Zimbabwe;

"Calls upon the government of the United Kingdom to use force in order to put an immediate end to the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia, and in this regard notes with appreciation the offers by Zambia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo to make available their territories and air space for this purpose; [and] . . .

"Urges all States, as a matter of urgency, to render all moral and material assistance to the National Liberation Movements of Zimbabwe either directly or through the Organization of African Unity."

In other sections, the resolution of October 20 denounces South Africa and Portugal and demands that economic sanctions be imposed upon them as well. As for Rhodesia, the present drastic and punitive measures should be widened to include "all the measures laid down in Article 41 of the Charter," which is to say, Rhodesia should be denied any communication whatever with the outside world, by air, sea, mail, telephone, telegraph, or other means.

Now, this is an astounding resolution for a body presumably dedicated to keeping peace in the world. It is an appeal to arms, made with apparent indifference to the bloody upheaval that would ensue.

In one breath, the resolution acknowledges that Rhodesia's independence is the internal business of Great Britain; in the next, the resolution violates the command of the U.N. Charter that the U.N. shall never interfere in domestic responsibilities. The committee knows that the sanctions unavoidably have operated most harshly upon Rhodesia's four million blacks; so the committee would make their troubles worse.

The resolution was adopted 89 to 9. The United States voted against it, but such good friends as Canada, Italy, France, Japan and Brazil were paralyzed by fear of offending the African bloc. They merely abstained.

On November 11 Rhodesia observed the third anniversary of her Declaration of Independence. While the U.N. blandly recognizes puppet states, despotic regimes, and the denial of "inalienable rights" throughout the Communist world, the peace-loving members of the African bloc would crush Rhodesia by force. Anywhere else, this double standard would be known as hypocrisy or worse. At the United Nations, it passes for the solemn wisdom of the world's best hope for peace.

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Where Next for Wallaceites?

By PAUL HARVEY

George Wallace carried five states and tilted eight others. Wallace's 13 per cent of the total popular vote was the greatest for any third-party candidate in half a century.

Somewhere out there across each of the 50 states are a total of almost 10 million Americans who voted for him and doubtless millions more conservatives who approved his outspokenness but voted for Richard Nixon.

Precinct samplings show that Wallace brought to the polls many Americans who had never before been sufficiently motivated to vote.

Uncompromising conservatives who rallied to Barry Goldwater in 1964 and again to Wallace—and watched both dreams stillborn—surely deserve no less consideration than lesser minorities demand and get.

How many of them will be won over by President-elect Nixon none can know yet. After all, he did support their man Goldwater. Further, Nixon has pledged his administration to "pull us together." So conservatives might find their guest room in the White House not too uncomfortable.

Mississippi Gov. John Bell Williams has repeatedly dared to put personal philosophy above partisan loyalty. Elected to Congress as a Democrat, he supported Republican Goldwater. Subsequently elected governor as a Democrat, he supported Wallace.

Gov. Williams is presently urging his state's Democrats to try to recapture control of their national party. If they are unsuccessful in realigning their party along Jeffersonian principles, then Williams says, "the South should support the GOP."

It is my thought that we should all support the new President without reservation—at least until he gives us cause for reservations.

President Johnson admittedly sought and failed to create a "consensus" Administration. He wanted everybody to approve, applaud and support him.

It is a paradox of human nature that the harder one tries to be loved by everybody, the less likely he is ever to realize that objective.

The most respected—the almost revered—leaders are those men of such genuine conviction that even those who do not always agree with them always respect them.

During the campaign Wallace frequently stated that "there's not a dime's worth of difference between those other fellows. . . ."

Whatever difference there is, it's a very important difference. Basically, it represents "big people" as opposed to "big government." It represents fundamentals of political philosophy which, just for one example, will be reflected in the selection of Supreme Court justices—selections which will shape America and influence Americans for generations to come.

That big conservative 13 per cent can best serve its objectives not by giving up but by staying active—by exerting continuing influence on their near-alikes.

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How Would You Handle Cleaver Affair?

dents attacked members of the board as they attempted to leave an executive session.

Mrs. Randolph Hearst was shoved violently, her stockings torn and legs bruised, by a black-bereted youth who called her a "pig," a favorite epithet of the Black Panthers. A Reagan appointee, Allan Grant, president of the State Board of Agriculture, was boxed in by students who yelled, "Don't let him go—crush him!" Grant opposes California's ballyhooed grape boycott which radical students support.

Just before the meeting was adjourned a Negro took over the meeting without authority and demanded the new college under construction at Santa Cruz be devoted to the "black experience" and be named the College of Malcolm X.

Radicals demanding the regents settle the issue of giving credit for the Cleaver lectures were ready to do battle over the regents' "procrastination." Berkeley's Academic Senate, supported by faculty on other U.C. campuses, voted to defy the regents' limitation on Cleaver.

Gov. Reagan was obviously angered by being ruled out of order when he attempted to present a resolution criticizing the Academic Senate and wasn't made any happier by a student who jumped up shouting, "---- you, Reagan!"

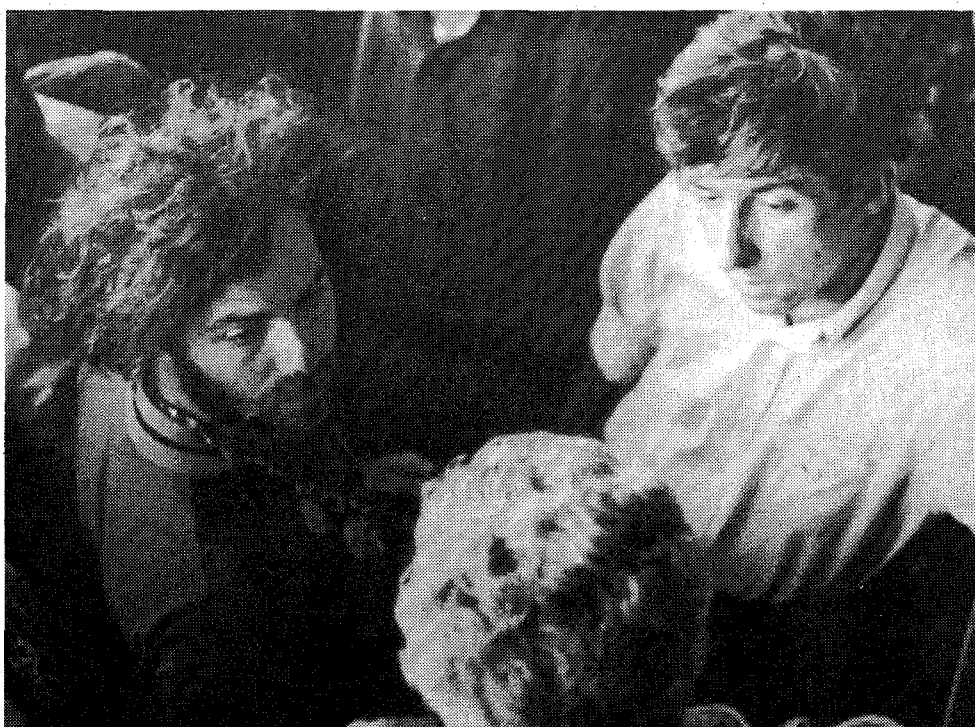
Buttonholing U.C.'s President Charles Hitch, a one-time member of McNamara's brain trust, he shook his finger and said in an emotion-charged voice, "I think this is another legal subterfuge, and I think this whole board should resign." The board having followed their rule of "procrastination politics" had voted to postpone action on the controversy until the November regents' meeting.

Gov. Reagan's reaction to the hostility directed against the regents was: "This was inevitable. Inadvertently or not, the administration of the university and the regents has been following the path of appeasement. It was only a question of time when it would have to come to a confrontation. I think it's time to lay down guidelines and rules defining the regents' authority and responsibilities."

Five days after the regents' meeting the Berkeley campus blew up.



Yippie chief Jerry Rubin shows his contempt for the "power structure" as he burns what was billed as money. There was no evidence, however, that the money was real.



At Berkeley, Calif., appropriately enough, Yippie leader Jerry Rubin (left) and SDS founder Tom Hayden were served with subpoenas by the House Committee on Un-American Activities to testify in Washington on their role in last summer's Chicago disorders.

Psyched-up by professors who gave the green light to campus revolutionaries, administrators who couldn't decide whose team they were on, and America's roving gang of social demolition experts, U.C. students produced the confrontation the governor had warned about.

On October 22, 121 people—105 were registered students and one was a full-time professor—were arrested when they took over Sproul Hall, the main administration building, for 10 hours and demanded full credit for the Cleaver "course."

Fliers signed by "Students Opposed to University Racist Corporate Elite" called for a "takeover of the university administration." When the building was locked up the next day, SOURCE leaders declared "it leaves us with no other choice but to break down the doors." During the sit-in 2,000 angry supporters attacked police, pushed parked cars into adjacent intersections and set bonfires in the street.

The following night the guerrilla tactics of Columbia were used by 72 people to capture Moses Hall. Led by non-student Trotskyite-Communist Peter Camejo, who has been spearheading riots in the Berkeley area for a long time, the insurgents barricaded themselves inside the College of Letters and

Science building. Among those prepared to defy the campus and police were 34 members of San Francisco State College's Students for a Democratic Society.

The dean of the college and four members of his staff were trapped in one of the offices and held virtually prisoners all night. The red flag of communism was flown from the building's roof and banners with the picture of Che Guevara draped from third-floor windows. When 600 police broke into the building at six the next morning they were pelted with debris and rocks from the angry mob that had stood vigil outside all night. Taunts of "Seig Heil!", Cleaver's famous "Oink, Oink," and four-letter obscenities were yelled at the officers.

When the barricade of desks, filing cabinets and chairs was removed by the police, the girl demonstrators were led from the building chanting and holding up the clenched fist of the Black Panthers, amidst cheers of the assembled sympathizers.

The interior of the building was a shambles. It was reported that furniture was nailed to the walls with spikes. Documents and files were strewn about. An IBM computer had been sprung open, but the invaders had been unable to actuate the machine. The floors and walls were a mess. Offices had been turned upside down. It took officers 10 minutes to work their way past obstacles in the hallways and on the stairs to reach the students holed up on the third floor.

Earlier in the afternoon, during which the rebel forces were gathering steam for the assault on Moses Hall, there had been student invasions of the office of Chancellor Roger Heyns, not known for taking a hard line in dealing with student radicals, and the multi-million-dollar master computer center in the basement of the mathematics building. Persons in charge of the computer complex were injured when rampaging students broke through the glass doors which protected the equipment. Only a few weeks before militant students at U.C.'s Santa Barbara campus had come within a hair's breadth of destroying a \$30-million computer center there.

One of the tragic causes for student political neurosis, which keeps campuses in a constant state of turmoil, is the on-going vacillation of

campus administrations; one minute siding with the students and the next taking the hard stand of authority.

Super-tolerant Chancellor Heyns, whether he felt his job in jeopardy or whether he was reacting to the prospect of being eaten alive by the carnivorous campus anarchists, belatedly lowered the boom by proclaiming the Moses Hall insurgents were guilty of "willful and flagrant disruption of the campus" which "defies logic and justification. It is not dissent, it is not education. Instead it is a direct threat to the very idea of the university. . . ." He promised that those involved would be "prosecuted to the fullest extent possible."

California voters, who on November 5 defeated a state proposition to increase building funds for campus facilities, in obvious protest against student defiance and destruction, will watch with a cautious eye to see whether disciplinary action is taken or whether this was window dressing to placate the governor and the people of California.

In addition to the misplaced blame laid upon Gov. Reagan for continued campus disorder, the exaggerated attention given Cleaver tends to divert critics from the real issue, which is inept administration. Cleaver was not the first Panther to lecture or hold a faculty position on a state campus. Last quarter Barbara Auther, a black activist, gave a sociology course for credit on "Race Sensitivity," and has been authorized to repeat the course this fall. The U.C. newspaper described her as co-chairman of the Black Panthers. In January 1968 Richard Aoki, a Panther associate and graduate U.C. sociology student, lectured a class on "the conflict involved in the presence of a white tutor given the ideology of revolutionary organization in the black community."

Almost overshadowing the Cleaver issue at U.C. is the case at San Francisco State College of George Mason Murray, where the national minister of education for the Black Panther party had been given a faculty appointment in the English Department. Murray was one of three Panthers recently nabbed by authorities in Mexico City attempting to get to Cuba to tell the Castro government and people the "real Huey Newton story."

The Aug. 25, 1968, edition of the official publication of the Cuban Communist party revealed that Murray subsequently was successful in making an illegal trip to Havana. Murray boasted to the Red press that black militants in the U.S. are "inspired by Che's example," and he explained that guerrilla warfare in America was tying up troops destined for Viet Nam.

He told the Cubans, "We are well aware that we will only be liberated if the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America are also free. And this will come about when the U.S. imperialists are dead." Reported the Cuban press: "After making these statements on his arrival in the Cuban capital, George Mason Murray gave a number of vivas for Cuba, the Communist party, and Major Fidel Castro, winding up with a firm 'Ever Onward to Victory!'"

At a crisis closed-door, eight-hour meeting in September the state college trustees voted to "request" that the president of the college reassign Panther Murray to duties other than teaching. This charade of authority was carried on although it had been reported by sources in the meeting that the trustees knew beforehand that San Francisco State College President Robert R. Smith would refuse to reassign Murray.

Smith, whose predecessor left the college in the midst of a major student riot, said he did not know whether he would honor the request but that "the odds are against

it." Murray defiantly told reporters that he planned on teaching regardless of any decision against him and if they wanted to stop him they would have to send the "pig cops" into the classroom after him.

Murray continued to teach and preach with immunity. At an SDS-Progressive Labor forum, held on the Berkeley campus, Murray joined two left-wing students who, like himself, had recently been to Havana, and Tom Hayden and Anne Scheer (Mrs. Robert), who lectured on their experiences in Hanoi. A capacity crowd heard these five activists discuss what Hanoi and Havana think of the New Left in the United States. Murray, emulating Cleaver's successful use of profanity, castigated his audience for not engaging in the real revolution in this country by supplying black revolutionaries with guns and concluded by saying he hoped some of his audience would go out and kill some police.

While his employer and president of San Francisco State College refused to remove Murray, the Panther "professor" called upon black and brown students to bring guns to the college and stage a strike November 6. Shouting threats from atop a cafeteria table, Murray said the only way to deal with a "cracker" like President Smith was to tell him "we want 5,000 black people here in February, and if he won't give them to you, you chop his head off."

This time the state college trustees acted. Through the chancellor of the state college system, who undoubtedly felt his job in jeopardy too, President Smith was ordered to remove Murray from his teaching job and from the campus as a graduate student. Pending an investigation, Murray would continue to receive his salary.

Smith again attempted to delay the action with reference to San Francisco Mayor Alliotto's contention that firing Murray might trigger an explosive situation for the city. Gov. Reagan obviously was being pushed to the boiling point. Murray said the governor, "actually advocated assassination of public figures, including myself." With great reluctance Smith finally ordered Murray suspended, but assured him he would have ample opportunity to defend himself through the due process of personnel procedures.

The November 6 strike, called by the super-militant Black Students Union to protest the firing of Murray, resulted in Smith closing down the college after rampaging blacks terrorized the campus. BSU and the Third World Liberation Front had held a strategy meeting in the college auditorium at the same time white radicals joined an SDS meeting where administrators were called racist. The tactic used by black radicals to close the campus was a deployment of squads which blitzkreiged classrooms.

In a typical action a militant black led his assault team into a Spanish class: "Why are you holding class?" he demanded. "Why aren't you honoring the strike?"

"We have spent some time today discussing the issues involved in the strike," said the instructor, "and now we are learning Spanish."

"Well, break it up and get out of here," the black ordered.

"You talk about freedom," said the teacher. "We have the freedom to be here and to be left alone."

The black warned, "Either you get out of here now or some other people might come up here and tear this place up!" The classroom was evacuated.

Dozens of similar confrontations took place all over the campus, where students were confronted with "classroom education teams," as

they called themselves. Radicals set off the fire drill alarms which added to the tension and confusion. Finally police units were called in and the campus was shut down, while students yelled "Get the Pigs off the campus!"

Buildings had been damaged, an American flag had been burned on the stage of the auditorium, and a fire started in the Academic Senate office destroyed some file records. An Associated Press cameraman was accosted by five black males who warned him, "Give us your film, it's easier than having your skull broken in."

The old pros from the Free Speech Movement and its subsequent agitation-fronts at U.C., the black revolutionaries and white radicals at San Francisco State College, and the SDS and Black Student Union chapters that are springing up at other state campuses are mounting the most devastating assault that institutions of learning have yet been subjected to. "Racism on the campus" is the new stick to intimidate terrified college administrators.

The new battle order, as usual based on demands that cannot realistically be met, will call for hiring of black employees virtually to the exclusion of all others, the elimination of entrance requirements for black students, and the placing of blacks in faculty and administrative posts until the national ethnic "balance" has been achieved.

For his criticism of militancy on the campus and the forum given to such persons hostile to American society as Panthers. Cleaver and Murray, Gov. Reagan has been attacked by the academic community for having injected politics into the intellectual sanctuary of higher education. In truth, the specific campus activity that has had the greatest influence on our disrupted society is that of subversive politics originating on our campuses. Rather than participatory and constructive, "confrontation politics" as taught on campus is programmed to destroy American society. Any governor who would not act to prevent this form of internecine would be derelict in his duties. Gov. Reagan has a mandate from the people of California to prevent a student coup d'etat.

The State Board of College Trustees should have instructed S.F. State's president at the onset of the conflict with George Murray to fire his Black Panther

English teacher or they would fire him. The university regents should have told U. C.'s President Hitch that Eldridge Cleaver was not considered by the people of California qualified to lecture on the campus and that interested sociology students could attend his performances at some location not supported by state funds.

Mr. Hitch and every other campus administrator are employees of the state and completely expendable. And they should be instructed if they continue to buckle when confronted with a threat by the anti-establishmentarians they will be replaced with educators and administrators who possess the necessary fortitude, honesty and intelligence to maintain the kind of atmosphere where the process of learning can take place.

The constitution of the state of California, similar to that of other states which have Land Grant Colleges, has, since 1879, assigned the Board of Regents virtually absolute control over the university. The writers of the constitution clearly stated, however, that the regents' "full powers of organization and movement" be "subject only to such legislative control as may be necessary to insure compliance with the terms of the endowments of the university and the security of its funds."

Liberal and left-wing faculty members at U. C. argue that Cleaver has something to offer students for which they should be given class credit. Gov. Reagan insists Cleaver has nothing to offer and should be barred from bringing his pornographic litany onto the campus.

In addition to calling the governor "a punk, a sissy and a coward" and referring to him at every public opportunity as "Mickey Mouse Reagan," he has challenged him to "a duel to the death."

The lecturer defended by the academia describes California legislators as "bald-headed faggots," and the President of the United States as "a lying mother-[obscenity]." America, Cleaver tells his listeners, is "truly a disgusting burden upon this planet."

A burden upon all humanity." He calls this nation "America the ugly . . . the hideous . . . the horrible, the torturer and murderer of mankind. . . . The successor to Nazi Germany, the No. 1 obstacle to human progress. . . ."

Imagine that you are a California taxpayer supporting state colleges. You graduated from Berkeley in 1946, and now your 17-year-old daughter is a freshman at "Cal." She is enrolled in Social Analysis 139X. Her instructor has gained fame, in part, for a book he wrote in prison. In this book, he explains the sociological reason he became a rapist:

"I became a rapist. To refine my technique and modus operandi, I started out by practicing on black girls in the ghetto . . . and when I considered myself smooth enough, I crossed the tracks and sought out white prey. I did this consciously, deliberately, willfully, methodically—though looking back I see that I was in a frantic, wild and completely abandoned frame of mind. Rape was an insurrectionary act. It delighted me that I was defying and trampling upon the white man's law, upon his system of values, and that I was defiling his women—and this point, I believe, was the most satisfying to me because I was very resentful over the historical fact of how the white man used the black woman . . . I wanted to send waves of consternation throughout the white race. . . ."

You wonder what this writer can contribute to your daughter's education.

You wonder what you would do if you were governor of California.

While the sickening sound of four-letter profanities rings in your ear, you wish your daughter had been a student in the days when young people at Berkeley screamed "Beat Stanford!"

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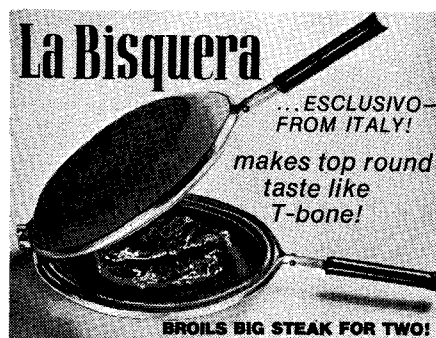
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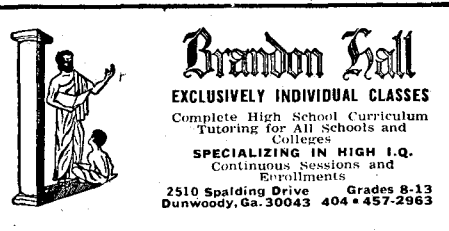
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How Welfare Demonstrators Plan to Disrupt Department Stores

By ALICE WIDENER

In Webster's Dictionary the verb "to conspire" is defined, "to join in a secret agreement to do an unlawful or wrongful act or to use such means to accomplish a lawful end." The noun "conspiracy" is defined as "the act of conspiring together; an agreement among conspirators."

On Thursday evening, Nov. 6, 1968, in the Broadway United Church of Christ at 211 West 56th Street, New York City, there took place a meeting of conspirators acting in agreement to do unlawful, wrongful acts on a nationwide basis in the month of December 1968. The meeting was attended by political and legal "coordinators" conspiring with welfare recipients to break the law. For example, they conspired to create a public nuisance through disruption of Christmas shopping at big department stores next month.

The coordinators present in the church meeting are members of the Citywide Coordinating Committee of Welfare Groups in New York City, a group that has repeatedly staged unlawful demonstrations. Under the ideological tutelage of Drs. Richard A. Cloward and Frances Piven of the Columbia University School of Social Work, the Citywide Coordinating Committee is led by Hulbert James and by Mrs. Beulah Sanders, a Negro "welfare mother" whose loud ranting before the Democratic Platform Committee last August

scandalized Chairman Hale Boggs and millions of TV viewers.

After some discussion concerning the conspirators' December program, a "coordinator" described the December department store program. "You recruit people on welfare to go pick out what they want—about a hundred dollars worth—and go to the cash register at May's or Macy's or Abraham & Straus. First you demand a discount. They won't give it to you. Then you demand credit. They won't give it to you. Meantime, you're holding up the store's business. When the cashier demands that you pay, you say 'Charge it to Welfare.'

"This will start up a big argument. People with Christmas shopping will be waiting in line to pay at the cash register. We can drive a lot of angry customers away from the store. Meantime, the cashier has got to send for the manager. Before any new purchases can be rung up, the whole register has got to be done over. The customers get madder and madder. The store calls for the police. The cops come and we put up a struggle. Don't worry. We'll take care of the legal appeals when you get arrested. You put up a struggle and we'll get some people planted in the store to be very upset customers shocked at police brutality to welfare mothers just trying to get something for their kids for Christmas.



Will U.S. Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark order an investigation of the planned nationwide demonstrations?

"You can bet May's and Macy's and A&S owners will put the heat on the city to get us out of the place because it's bad for business and get the city to give us what we want. We'll raise such hell they'll do anything to get peace. They'll charge you with creating a public nuisance. A few of you will be arrested and they'll let the rest go. Our friends that Cloward and Piven send us will take care of things. Just you take care of your angle and Columbia will take care of the legal angle.

You try it and see. You'll get what you want."

A law student at Columbia University Center for Social Welfare Policy and Law, Jonathan Marsh, briefed the coordinators on the need for getting recruits to fill out papers to back up appeals cases for arrested welfare demonstrators. The Center recently received a subsidy from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The conspiring coordinators of the Citywide Committee in New York are coordinating their work with the National Welfare Rights Organization in Washington, D.C. Before there are Christmas riots over alleged "police brutality" to "welfare mothers" in major department stores throughout the nation next month, U.S. Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark should order a complete investigation of the conspirators' activities. Perhaps he should begin by inquiring into the activities of the Rev. Lawrence L. Durgin of the Broadway United Church of Christ, a place that plays weekly host to conspirators already responsible for lawlessness that has caused riots, physical injuries and extensive property damage. Even though our U.S. attorney general is on the way out of office, he still has a sworn duty to perform for the American people.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

'Youth Explosion' Has Slowed Down

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Electronic analyses reveal that our youth did not turn its back on Richard M. Nixon, contrary to many forecasts. And we're a youth country. "I am youth. I am joy. I am freedom," said Peter Pan. That's America. But again an emphasis has buried the facts, as so often.

If you dig behind the scenes you find that the youth curve seems to have hit an air pocket.

Astoundingly, two of every five Americans are 17 or under. This means 80 million, or about 40 per cent of our entire population. That is 64 per cent more than in 1947.

In the postwar "baby boom" births increased from a level of about 2.4 million a year in the late '30s to 4.3 million in the late '50s—an increase of about 80 per cent.

In 1965, 2.8 million youths reached the voting age of 21. In



Despite the infatuation with Sen. Eugene McCarthy, young voters did not turn their backs on Nixon.

1966 another 2.8 million became 21. Last year the number was 3.7 million. By the 1972 presidential election the youth group of today that will reach the voting age is an estimated 23.4 million.

Many politically active teen-agers, including most teen-age supporters of Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy whom I saw at the Chicago convention, have been taught this as gospel.

The average worker's age is 29 and will soon be 25. More than 75 per cent of our population will be under 50 by 1972. The median age has declined from 30 in 1950 to 27.5, the lowest in 40 years. By the 1972 presidential election it will be 26 or 27. Women in their 20s will nearly double.

Our youth are getting married earlier than ever before. More than 800,000 new family formations a year have been created in the last decade. Today the average family is 3.71 persons. About five million have a woman head with no husband. About 1.2 million are headed by a man without a wife.

For the first time in history more married women are working than single girls. Working wives now make up one-fifth of our entire labor force. A full half of the country's women are working, but if that appears to be an unspoken kind of discrimination, while other discriminations are emphasized, less than 1 per cent of the working women who have advanced make as much as \$10,000 a year.

But, meanwhile, our highly publicized "population explosion" has slowed down to hardly a trot, another fact buried by an emphasis.

Actually, we reached our highest annual birth rate in 1947—21 years ago. It was 25.8 per 1,000 population and

has been dropping steadily ever since. We had a 1967 publicity cascade when we passed 200 million, but our population growth was less than 2 per cent last year.

Due to the postwar "baby boom" the 15-24 age group shows the highest increase. It has reached 36 million while the 35-54 age group has been relatively stable and will remain so between now and 1980. This is due to the extremely low number of births during the prewar era.

Instead, the 55-and-over group will increase to around 51 million in 1980. The dominating factor is that while our birth rate has slowed down, the life expectancy has gone up. For men it has risen from the low 60s in the early '20s to 66.5 years or better today. For women the rise is from 71 to 73.5.

In the Nixon-Humphrey election there were more votes by those over 65 than ever before. Moreover, the number of men and women over 65 will increase astoundingly in the next 20 years before it levels off.

Beyond this, in all the emphasis put on youth and in one of the biggest surprises since the Romans saw Cleopatra roll out of her carpet, only about 50 per cent of the nation's youth in the present 21-29 age bracket has taken the trouble to register.

The contributions that youth can make to our political system are enormous and encouraging. But, for some time to come, those who downgrade a great body of the country in an overemphasis on a youth appeal would be missing the forest for the trees.

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The Case for Keeping the Panama Canal

in their relations with the United States that if they magnified their nuisance potential by multiplying the decibels of abuse, Washington would often pay them to stop misbehaving. Scream, kick Uncle Sam's shins, have tantrums at international forums, denounce the United States at the General Assembly of the United Nations—and get paid by the United States for turning off the spigot of hatred. That theory has sparked behavior for decades, and especially since Nasser succeeded in snatching the Suez Canal in 1956.

The American government, its Latin American policy often influenced by those who imagine the eagle ought to be too proud to notice plucked tailfeathers, or that meeting an affront with a smile is a mark of Foggy Bottom statesmanship, has made the mistake of bribing isthmian *politicos* with new concessions, in order to persuade them to cease this or that poisonous behavior. Appeasement has become the order of so many days that most of the descendants of Balboa now take appeasement for granted.

In 1964, over an issue already settled—flying the Panamanian flag—riots in the Republic of Panama destroyed thousands of dollars worth of private American property. That was wanton destruction, incited by the rabble-rousers of the isthmus. And Panama, the country responsible for those excesses, thereupon broke diplomatic relations with the United States!

Washington, instead of denouncing the perpetrators and demanding compensation for destroyed American property as a condition precedent to further discussion, declared in effect: "If Panama will deign to reestablish relations with the United States, the American government promises to reconsider the remaining clauses of the 1903 Treaty."

The proposed "new arrangements" contained in the three drafts initiated last year are the result of that "reconsideration."

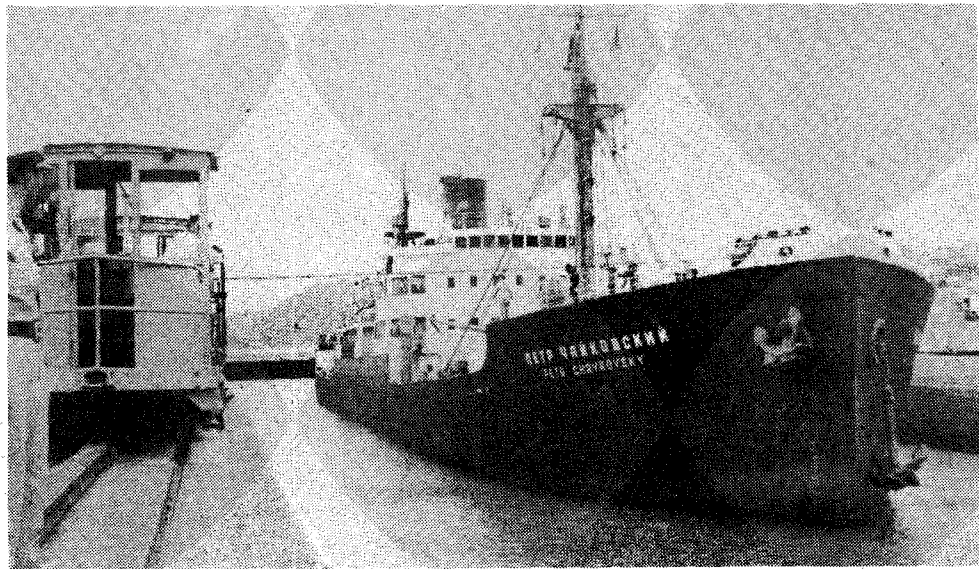
The principal text would destroy the safeguards in the Treaty of 1903 by surrendering exclusive American control within the Canal Zone. Joint control with Panama would be substituted.

A second draft has to do with defense, shackling the hands of the United States in the event of an emergency. The United States could act, if Panama agreed.

The third draft treaty relates to a possible new canal, without awaiting the results of studies now in progress to determine whether that canal, at a different location, or a third set of locks paralleling the existing facilities within the Canal Zone, should be built for the needs of the future. A third set of locks would be feasible under the existing treaty.

For all their shouting and recrimination, the last thing the Panamanians want is to lose their most lucrative asset—the present Canal Zone. The last thing the United States should do is to lose its own freedom of action, or to mortgage its own future, having in mind that in addition to debate over sea level or lock canals, there are several alternative routes: In Colombia, in eastern Panama (for which a new treaty would be required), and in Nicaragua (where a treaty of 1916 already gives the United States rights of construction).

Under the proposed "new arrangements" the Panama take from the present canal would be increased from \$1.93 million to \$22 million, on one hundred million tons of business—vastly



The canal has always been open to all nations (except in time of war) as highlighted by this Soviet ship passing through the Miraflores Locks.

more than the net revenues earned in any one year since the canal was inaugurated. That huge subsidy could only be paid by raising the tolls charged the ocean shipping of the world. The primary payer would of course be the United States.

And why should the United States do any of these irrational things?

Who except the politicians, nourished by appeasement and dreaming their larcenous dreams, believe that the existing treaties are obsolete or archaic?

Panama, in the general Treaty of 1955 (the one increasing Panama's annuity to nearly \$2 million, in exchange for which Panama relinquished the privilege of having its policemen travel free on the railroad)—Panama specifically recognized that existing agreements can be modified only by mutual consent, then pledged her word to that effect.

Moreover, by the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901, which antedates the original Panama Treaty of 1903, the United States (not the United States-and-Panama, or the United States-plus-the-Pan-American Union) committed itself to operate an oceanic canal "free and open to the vessels . . . of all nations . . . on terms of entire equality" and with "no discrimination . . . in respect of conditions or charges of traffic, or otherwise."

Does anyone assert that the foregoing pledge is not being fulfilled, or that the present management is incompetent? Or that the Panama Canal has not been operated without discrimination for the benefit of all nations?

Does experience indicate that allowing the government of Panama to jiggle the elbow of those opening and closing the locks, would increase the efficiency of operations?

Does anyone in his right mind think Nasser and the Suez Canal, which has been closed for a year and a half, constitute a favorable recommendation for Panamanian domination of an international waterway indispensable to world commerce? Or that Panama, if in control of the locks, might not try to deny them to the first country with which it became involved in altercation—Nicaragua, or Costa Rica, or Peru, or Chile?

It is a wise thing that John Hay and Theodore Roosevelt included in the Treaty of 1903 those measures for American control within the Canal Zone, without which the stability of canal operations would have been repeatedly imperiled.

"In perpetuity" in that treaty may

seem a long time, but so do the 400 years dating from Rodrigo de Bastides, Columbus and Balboa, that elapsed before the American people converted a deadly and miasmal swampland into a garden surrounding the finest man-made thoroughfare in history. The end of 400 years of canal operations might be time enough to consider limiting that prudent provision, as important today as it was in 1904 when the first American engineers and doctors reached the then festering isthmus.

The United States does have a fundamental obligation, of which Panama is the beneficiary. The United States is obligated to the good conscience of the American people to fulfill its isthmian re-

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sponsibilities not only efficiently as to the Panama Canal itself, but to do so in friendship and fairness toward the Panamanian people.

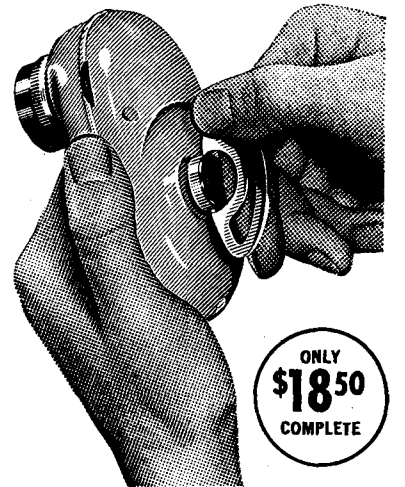
The citizens of Panama today constitute a majority of the labor force which carries out the around-the-clock tasks involved in lifting 75 ships a day across the continental divide, and in moving them, expeditiously and economically, from one ocean to the other. They, and all the other citizens of the Republic of Panama, are entitled to continuing sympathy and consideration.

That is an obligation that the Canal Zone authorities of the United States have been discharging with singular competence for the last 53 years.

Let us not, by ill-considered acceptance of "new arrangements," destroy our own handiwork. Let us on the contrary maintain this asset of incalculable value to the security of the United States, and to the maritime commerce of the world.

North American Newspaper Alliance, Inc.)
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"They laughed when I wound up my shaver..."



That's liable to happen to you when you first use the RIVIERA in front of anyone. A wind-up shaver may seem a plaything. Or at best an emergency type of shaver (because it needs no cords or batteries). After all, how can a hand-cranked shaver rotate fast enough to do a clean and close job? And how many times do you have to wind the darn thing to finish one shave?

One answer at a time: The three-blade shaving head revolves at such a fast clip that it actually gives you seventy-two thousand cutting strokes a minute! Compare that to your \$30 TurboDeluxe. Now, about the winding. The palm-shaped body of the RIVIERA (named for its birthplace, Monte Carlo) is filled with a huge mainspring made of the same Swedish super steel used in the most expensive watch movements. You crank the key just like a movie camera (about six turns) and the RIVIERA shaves and shaves. From ear to ear; from nose to neck, without slowing down. Maintains its full shaving speed right to the end—and long enough to do the complete job. Hard to believe, but really true.

A few more details: The surgical steel blades are so designed that they are continuously self-sharpening. You will find that the more you use the RIVIERA the sharper and the better it gets. The guard is so unbelievably thin (5/100 of a millimeter) that pressure is unnecessary. You just touch the shaver on your face and gently guide it in circular motions.

We could go on. But we don't expect to sell you with words. We just want to get you open-minded enough to tie up \$19 for two weeks. We'll give you that long to put the RIVIERA to the test. If it disappoints you (if you want to return it for any reason), send it back. Your money will be in the return mail. Obviously, we have reason to believe that this won't happen and that you will want to keep your RIVIERA for the office, club, cabin or in a permanent place in your bathroom cabinet. It's that kind of a thing. Once you've tried it you won't let it go. P.S. You not only save the cost of an electric motor, but you save the cost of repairing it. The money that it leaves in your pocket; the dependability; the good, fast, clean shaves that you'll get—they'll give you the last laugh.

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haverhill's

He wasn't the first Ass we have elected President. Just the first with four legs.

This is a story about a real Ass.

It may not surprise you to learn that he could talk, because you probably know some Asses who talk all the time. But our story is about the kind of Ass you find on the farm, with four legs not two, and you've never heard one of them talk before.

Come along to Farmer Jones' place and meet our hero. His name is Stubby, because his ears are so long that's how the rest of him looks.

Stubby learned that he could talk while he was still a colt. But he didn't say anything about it right away. First he wanted to see what people were like, and it didn't take him long to realize that the way we run our affairs is, well, positively huminine!

You see, Stubby could think as well as talk. He was a smart Ass. Naturally he resented the way people call other people Asses if they are stupid or thickheaded, so he decided to prove to everyone just how intelligent real Asses are.

(If he also succeeds in proving how asinine some people really are, there's nothing we can do about it. — Ed.)

One fine day Stubby told Farmer Jones he didn't want to pull carts for a living. Farmer Jones was startled, but he saw at once that Stubby could make him rich. Word got around fast, and folks came for miles — and paid Farmer Jones — for a chance to talk to a real Ass.

At first they came for the novelty of it. But soon they came for advice, because what Stubby said made sense. By heeding Stubby's suggestion to charge tolls, for instance, the State was able to fix up all the roads without collecting a penny of taxes, and everybody liked that.

Stubby soon had his own airplane (the Assteroid I) to get around to his speaking engagements, and a girl (whom he called his Assassistant) to turn the pages for him while he read.

In all this activity, Stubby was following a plan which he revealed to no one. It was all according to plan when he signed a contract to appear on several big television programs.

First there was *Beat the Press* (you know, the one where reporters ask the guest loaded questions to show how much smarter they are than he). Stubby handled the questions so well that, for all we know, the reporters felt like Asses. For instance, Stubby was challenged to solve the farm problem. His solution *worked*.

On the next show, *Faze the Nation*, the reporters were not so uppity. In fact, when Stubby explained how to do away with inflation, they were almost awed.

By now the papers were calling him Statesman instead of Stubby. The people were very pleased with all the taxes he was saving them. They started write-in campaigns for him in all the Presidential primaries, which he won.

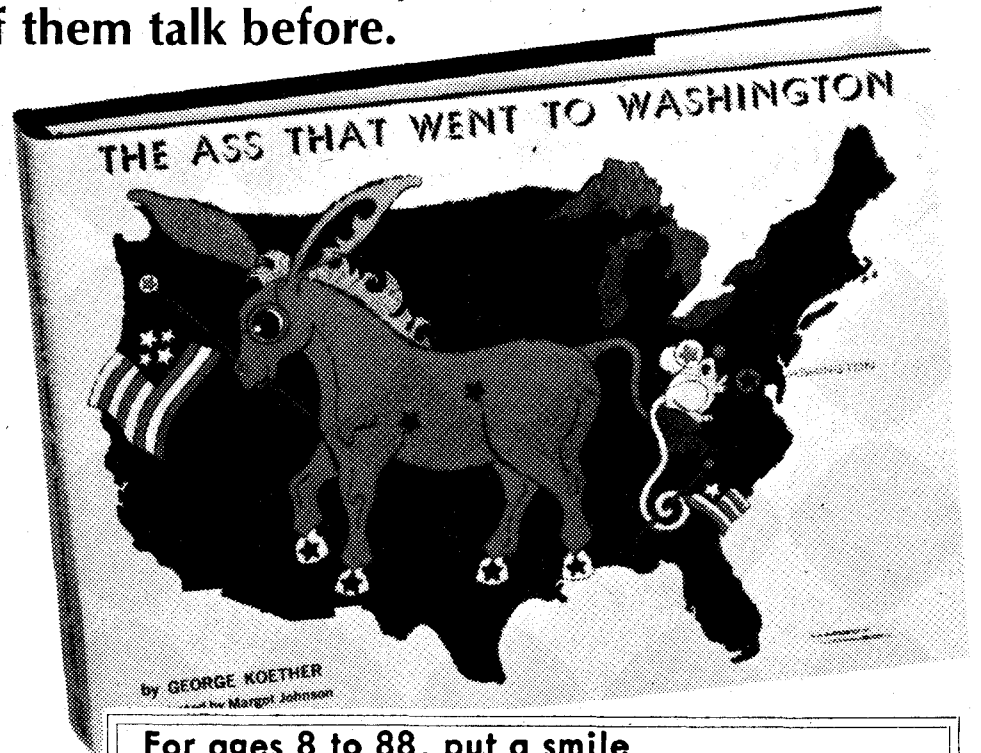
The Democrats asked him to head their ticket because, after all, the Ass was already the symbol of their party.

The Republicans asked him to head their ticket because, after all, Statesman was a smart Ass and wouldn't feel at home with the other kind in the other party.

Statesman accepted the nomination of both parties, but only on the understanding that they were accepting his ideas and not vice versa.

So it happened that for the first time, an Ass with four legs became President of the United States. A decided improvement, we think you'll find.

For instance, Statesman's Inaugural Address, far from echoing the windy rhetoric of the past ("Assk not what your country can do you you; Assk what you can do for your country."), consisted of only four sentences.



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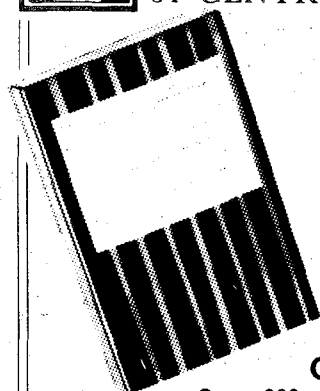
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